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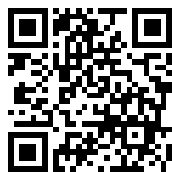
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ERRATUM

Vol. xx p. 31 l. 34, for '15th Indiction' read '1st Indiction'.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE CLASSIFICATION OF DOUBLETS IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

UPON any literary theory of the composition of the Synoptic Gospels, a certain amount of repetition results from the interweaving of material from different sources; and, conversely, the presence of doublets is taken to indicate divergent sources. This argument is employed, on a large scale, in the attempt to prove that the whole of Luke's Great Insertion is independent of Mark. If all doublets were of one kind, the procedure would be simple enough; but this is by no means the case. They belong to several classes; and it is evident that, until the exact nature of any particular doublet is determined, it is of no use as an index of sources. The presence of a doublet always raises a question; but will not so readily provide an answer.

Again, the phenomena of doublets shade into those of conflation and overlapping. In cases where two sources record the same incident in very similar words, and in the same context, there will be overlapping. As the phraseology varies there will be conflation; and if the similar words do not occur in the same context there will be a doublet.

A classification of doublets is outlined by Hawkins in *Horae Synopticae* Part ii Section 4, p. 65, ed. 1; p. 80, ed. 2. An attempt is here made to carry that classification a little further. The numbers in brackets refer to the list in HS. Where no such number occurs the passage is not contained in that list. For the most part, Hawkins's analysis of the doublet is followed, the chief divergence being that no. 20 (= Mt. no. 3 in HS) is taken as a case in which Lk. is a conflation, and not Mt. an expansion. No. 21 (= Lk. no. 4 in HS) is a very complex passage. In Lk. ix 1-5 Mk. and Q overlap. In Mt. x 1-16 Mk. and Q overlap; and there is also the conflation of the two sets of instructions from Q which Lk. keeps apart in chs. ix and x.

The following method of grouping is suggested :—

1. Cases where the doublet is due to the editor, and not to his sources.

It may be noted, in parenthesis, that in the Diatessaron of Tatian there are several examples of the use twice over of a passage from the same source.¹

1 (a). Repetition of a Mk. passage.

1. (Mt. 1) Mt. v 29 f
 Mt. xviii 8 f = Mk. ix 43, 45, 47

Mt. xviii 8 f is Marcan, and Mt. v 29 f is derived from it. Hawkins takes the latter as Q.

2. (Mt. 5) Mt. x 22 a
 Mt. xxiv 9 b = Mk. xiii 13 a = Lk. xxi 17

Mt. has transferred a section from the later position to the earlier, and repeated a part.

3. (Mt. 6) Mt. x 22 b
 Mt. xxiv 13 = Mk. xiii 13 b

The situation is the same as in no. 2.

4. (Mt. 12) Mt. xix 30 = Mk. x 31
 Mt. xx 16 Lk. xiii 30

Lk. xiii 30 undoubtedly belongs to Q. Mt. has omitted the parable of the Laggard Guests because he has the more striking parable of the Virgins; but he uses sayings from the Q section, Lk. xiii 23-30 in chs. vii 13 f and viii 11 f. Mt. xix 30 is identical with Mk. x 31, and is clearly taken from Mk. About Mt. xx 16 there is some doubt. Though not identical in form with Lk., it is nearer to it than to Mk., and is therefore held by Hawkins to come from Q. The objection to this is that it forms the conclusion of a parable (the Labourers in the Vineyard) which does not appear to come from Q, and is not accepted by Hawkins himself as part of Q, either in section A, B, or C of his tentative reconstruction of Q in Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem p. 113 ff. On the other hand, it may very well be an editorial repetition by Mt., who wishes to bind up the parable with the previous Marcan section. This is a marked feature of his method. Cf. Mt. vii 16 a and 20, and Mt. xii 39 a and 45 c.

5. (Lk. 6) Mt. x 39
 (Mt. 8) Mt. xvi 25 = Mk. viii 35 = Lk. ix 24
 Lk. xvii 33. See
 also no. 27.

¹ *The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem*, Hobson, Chicago, 1904, pp. 69 ff.

Lk. xvii 33 may be a repetition of the Marcan passage, with the phraseology changed, for the sake of variety. Mt. also repeats the one word *εὐρήσει*.

6. Lk. ix 22 = Mk. viii 31 = Mt. xvi 21
Lk. xvii 25

Lk. xvii 25 appears to be a brief repetition of the Marcan passage.

7. (Lk. 8, Ed. 2) Mk. ix 34 = Mt. xviii 1 = Lk. ix 46
Lk. xxii 24

The Lucan forms are very similar and thoroughly characteristic of the Lucan style:—

Εἰσῆλθε δὲ διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ τίς ἂν εἴη μείζων αὐτῶν.

Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ φιλονεικία ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων.

Mk. and Mt. only agree verbally in the phrase *τίς μείζων*. In all three Gospels two disputes for precedence are recorded. In the first case they agree, but in the second Lk. omits the Request of James and John, probably because it is derogatory to the dignity of the Twelve. On the other hand, he records a dispute on the eve of the Last Supper which is not contained in Mt. and Mk., but is presupposed in John's account of the Washing of the Disciples' Feet. In recording this new fact Lk. uses words in which he almost repeats himself from ch. 9, 46, and at the same time attaches some of the reply of Jesus to the Twelve when they murmured against James and John. We have here considerable freedom in dealing with our Lord's words, the kind of thing a modern editor would carefully avoid.

8. Lk. x 25 (= Mk. xii 28-34 = Mt. xxii 35-40)
Lk. xviii 18 = Mk. x 17 (= Mt. xix 16)

In Lk. x 25 the question is 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' This is practically the same as in Lk. xviii 18 = Mk. x 17, where a quite different incident is recorded. As it is not likely that Lk. has confused the two incidents, probably his non-Markan source contained a question so much like that of Mk. x 17 that he has given the Mk.-phraseology in both cases.

9. Mt. xxiv 23
Mt. xxiv 26

Here *μὴ πιστεύσητε* is repeated from the previous verse. Cf. also nos. 12 and 29.

1 (δ). Repetition of a Q-Passage.

10. (Mt. 4) Mt. x 15 = Lk. x 12
Mt. xi 24

Mt. xi 24 is a repetition of Mt. x 15.

11. (Mt. 9) Mt. xii 39 = Lk. xi 29
Mt. xvi 4 Mk. viii 12

Mt. xvi 4 repeats the Q-form of Mt. xii 39, but in the Mk.-context. This involves a slight overlapping. Mt. xvi 4 is really a witness both for Q and Mk.; and the doublet may be referred also to class 3 (a). Cf. Harnack *Sayings of Jesus* p. 23.

12. (Mt. 15) Mt. iv 23 = Mk. i 39 = Lk. iv 44
 Mt. ix 35 = Mk. vi 6 b
 Mt. x 1

Here Mk. vi 6 b = Mt. ix 35 forms the pivot. In Mt. iv 23 there is the use of phraseology both from the Mk. and Q elements of Mt. ix 35. The words *καὶ περιῆγεν . . . διδάσκων* are taken, indirectly, from Mk. vi 6 b; but Mt. iv 23 b is moulded on the Q element in ix 35, which is also partly repeated in Mt. x 1. This passage would also belong to 1 (a).

13. (Mt. 17) Mt. ix 32-34
 Mt. xii 22-24 = Lk. xi 14 f. Cf. Mk. iii 20-22.

There is little doubt that Mt. is recording the same miracle twice over, and in the Q-version. Mt. ix 34 is omitted in some Western authorities; but its resemblance to Lk. xi 15, rather than to Mt. xii 24, is in its favour. A copyist would have been more likely to assimilate to the passage in Mt. Mt. ix and Lk. have also in common the word *ἐθαύμασαν*.

14. (Mt. 20) Mt. iii 10 = Lk. iii 9
 Mt. vii 19

The second passage in Mt. is a repetition of the first.

15. Mt. vi 8 anticipates Mt. vi 32 b.

16. Mt. vii 20 repeats Mt. vii 16 a.

17. Mt. xxiii 33 repeats Mt. iii 7. Note also that Mt. xii 45 c is a repetition of phraseology from *vv.* 39 f above. Cf. also no. 24.

1 (c). *Repetition of material peculiar to Mt.*

18. (Mt. 19) A. (Mt. iii 2) = Mk. i 4 = Lk. iii 3
 B. Mt. iv 17 = Mk. i 14 f

A has reference to the Baptist, B to Jesus. Mt. has modified the language of A to conform to that of B. The words identical in Mt. A and B are *Μετανοείτε, ἡγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*. Here the phrase *τῶν οὐρανῶν* appears to be due to the editor. See also nos. 22, 23 and part of 25.

1 (d). *Repetition of material peculiar to Lk.* See no. 33.

2. **Doublets in one source.**

2 (a). *In the Mk.-source.*

19. (Mt. 13) Mk. ix 35
 Mt. xx 26 f = Mk. x 43 f
 Mt. xxiii 11 Lk. xxii 26

This is the only doublet in Mk. Jesus may have had occasion often to use such words. The Mt. doublet is no. 30.

2 (b). *Doublets in Q.*

20. (Mt. 3) Mt. vii 16-18

Lk. vi 43-45

Mt. xii 33-35

This is a difficult set of parallel passages, and there is not room for a full discussion of them. Hawkins considers that Mt. has expanded a single passage of Q in two directions. Harnack (*Sayings of Jesus* p. 69) traces the passages of Mt. to different sources. He may have overlooked Mt. xii 35 = Lk. vi 45 as a probable constituent of Q. The theory is preferable that Mt. vii 15-18 represents faithfully Q of the Sermon; but vv. 19 f are editorial additions. V. 19 repeats exactly Mt. iii 10 b, and v. 20 repeats v. 16 a by way of closing the paragraph. In Mt. xii 33 the aphorism is stated in a positive form, but differently from ch. xvii 7. It has a good connexion, for without it v. 34 would be very abrupt. Vv. 34 b and 35 continue the same thought in a changed figure. V. 33 b might be an editorial addition, but this is not likely, because it just balances v. 34 b. We conclude, therefore, that Mt. xii 33-35 probably belongs to the Q-form of the saying on Blasphemy, or at any rate forms a complete section of Q. In that case we have a Q-doublet, which Lk. has conflated. On 20 and 21 cf. p. 1 above.

21. (Lk. 4) In Mt. x 1-16, Lk. ix 1-5, and Mk. vi 7-11 Q and Mk. overlap.

Properly speaking, the doublet is in Lk., and this is taken as being also a doublet in Q, which Mt. has conflated to a considerable extent. This is the converse case to no. 19. There is repetition in the following cases :—

Lk. ix 3, 4, 5
Lk. x 4, 5-7, 10 f.

2 (c). *Doublets in material peculiar to Mt.*

22. (Mt. 21) Mt. ix 13, inserted parallel to Mk. ii 17

Mt. xii 7, inserted parallel to Mk. ii 27

The positive and negative sides of the principle, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice', are illustrated. The repetition may be editorial, and so come under 1 (c). It is placed here because it *may* be a doublet in Mt.'s source.

23. (Mt. 22) Mt. xvi 19
Mt. xviii 18

Here again, the repetition may be due to the editor, or to his source.

If the former, it is not certain which passage is original. Cf. Allen's comment on Mt. xvi 19.

24. Mt. v 34
Mt. xxiii 22

Swearing by the Throne of God is the idea common to both passages, which may both belong to Q, though Lk. has neither of them. If that were so, we should have another Q-doublet, which should be classed as 2 (b).

3. Doublets traceable to more than one source.

3 (a). Doublets in Mk. and Q.

25. (Mt. 2) A. Mt. v 32 = Lk. xvi 18
B. Mt. xix 9 = Mk. x 11 f

A is from Q, and B is Marcan, both in position and language. Mt. adds in A, *παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας*, and in B, *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*. This appears to be a sort of editorial doublet, no doubt reflecting the Church-interpretation of Mt.'s circle. Cf. 1 (c).

26. (Mk. 7) Mt. x 38 Lk. xiv 27
Lk. 5) Mt. xvi 24 = Lk. ix 23 = Mk. viii 34

This is a doublet in Mt. and Mt. x 38 is from Q; but Lk. xiv 27 may come from a source which is neither Mk. nor Q. See also no. 39.

27. (Mt. 8) Mt. x 39
Mt. xvi 25 = Mk. viii 35 = Lk. ix 24
Lk. xvii 33

Mt. x 39 is from Q, and the rest is Marcan. See no. 5.

28. (Mt. 10) A. Mt. xiii 12 = Mk. iv 25 = Lk. viii 18
Lk. 3) B. Mt. xxv 29 = Lk. xix 26

Although the position of Mt. xiii 12 is not exactly that of the original source, and Mt. and Lk. are only partly parallel in B, still, no doubt A is from Mk. throughout, and B is from Q. In Mt. A and B *καὶ περισεσθήσεται* appears to be due to the editor.

29. (Mt. 11) Mt. xvii 20 Lk. xvii 6
Mt. xxi 21 = Mk. xi 23

Lk. xvii 6 seems nearest Q. Mt. xvii 20 has a mixture of Mk. and Q. Mt. xxi 21 also has, from Q, *ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν*. 'Αμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν may be editorial. The rest is Marcan.

30. (Mt. 13) For the parallels see no. 19, where the Mk.-doublet has been noted.

Mt. xxiii 11 probably comes from Q. Lk. xxii 26 is perhaps Marcan; for Lk. has brought into a later position the words which, in Mk., are connected with the request of the sons of Zebedee. At the same time Lk. may be slightly affected by the Q-form.

31. (Mt. 14) Mt. xxiv 42 = Mk. xiii 35
Mt. xxv 13

Probably Mt. xxv 13 is from Q.

32. (Mt. 18) Mt. xii 38 f Lk. xi 16
Mt. xvi 1 = Mk. viii 11 f

Mt. xii 38 f is from Q, and the rest is Marcan. Hawkins takes Lk. xi 16 as from Q.

33. (Lk. 1) A. Lk. viii 16 = Mk. iv 21
B. Lk. xi 33 = Mt. v 15

A is probably Marcan, and B is from Q. A and B, in Lk., are very similar, owing to the editor's modification of the wording. In both places he has οὐδεὶς . . . ἅψας . . . ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι βλέπωσιν τὸ φῶς (τὸ φῶς βλέπωσιν). This editorial repetition might be classed as 1 (d), along with nos. 18 and 25, as in the case of Mt.

34. (Lk. 2) A. Lk. viii 17 = Mk. iv 22
B. Lk. xii 2 = Mt. x 26

A appears to be Marcan, B as from Q.

35. (Lk. 7) A. Lk. ix 26 = Mk. viii 38
B. Lk. xii 9 = Mt. x 33

There is very little doubt that both Lk. and Mt., in B., are from Q. A is Marcan.

36. (Lk. 8) Lk. xi 43
(Lk. 9, Ed. 2) Lk. xx 46 = Mt. xxiii 6 f = Mk. xii 38 f

Probably Lk. xi 43 is from Q. The rest is Marcan.

37. (Lk. 9) A. Lk. xii 11 f
(Lk. 10, Ed. 2) B. Lk. xxi 14 f = Mk. xiii 11 = Mt. x 19 f

B is Marcan. Lk. xii 11 f is from Q. In ch. xxi 14 f Lk. may omit the reference to the Holy Spirit, because he has already given it from Q.

3 (b). *Doublet in Q and a special Lucan source.*

38. (Lk. 10) Lk. xiv 11 Mt. xxiii 12
(Lk. 11, Ed. 2) Lk. xviii 14

In Lk. the same application is given to opposite, but complementary illustrations, in Mt. the saying has a wider scope. Mt. is probably from Q, as also Lk. xiv 11. Lk. xviii 14 is from Lk.'s special source. Hawkins takes all as from Q. On the possibility of a special source of Lk. overlapping Q see Sanday *Expository Times* xi 473, and Buckley *Int. to Synoptic Problem* p. 138.

3 (c). *Doublet in Mk. and Lk.'s special source.* See nos. 26 and 39.

4. *Traces of more than two sources.*

39. In no. 25 the Mt.-doublet is from Q and Mk.; but it is every

way likely that the Lk.-doublet is from Mk. and a special source. In that case three sources are involved.

One other case remains.

40. (Mt. 16) Mt. ix 27-31

Mt. xx 29-34 = Mk. x 46-52 = Lk. xviii 35-43

The miracle one would have expected to find here in Mt. is recorded in Mk. viii 22-26; but a good deal of it was not attractive to Mt. (cf. Allen on Mt. pp. xxxi and xxxii) and was therefore omitted. Some think that the *two* blind men in Mt. ix as well as in Mt. xx 30, and the *two* demoniacs in Mt. viii 28, are due to the editor. Moreover, the language of Mt. ix 27-31 is most of it paralleled elsewhere in the Synoptic Gospels, so that it is very doubtful whether we ought to reckon a doublet in Mt.'s source. In that case we should have an editorial doublet, on the lines of those in 1 (c). An alternative is that Mt. is recording a piece of tradition not contained in any written source. He would, in that case, naturally clothe it in phraseology which was running in his mind. The command not to make the miracle known has no relation to chronology, but to the mental condition of the healed person. This command would not enable us to judge whether the miracle was earlier or later in the ministry, in any case. Neither does the word *ἐκεῖθεν* give an historical connexion. It is an editorial link in Mt.'s Miracle Section.

To illustrate the probable overlapping of triple sources suggested in no. 39, reference may be made to the parallels Mk. xii 28-34, Mt. xxii 34-40, Lk. x 25-28 (the Scribe's Question), and to Mk. xii 39, Mt. xxiii 6, Lk. xx 46 (the Chief Places at Feasts). These passages should be allowed to modify the statement in Hawkins (H.S. p. 82 ed. 2) that evidence of triple sources is only found in the case of the phrase, 'He that hath ears to hear let him hear.' See also H.S. p. 87 ed. 1, and pp. 106 f ed. 2.

It will be noted that nos. 5 and 7, 19 and 30, 26 and 39 are compound doublets. To some extent this is true of nos. 11, 12, and 25. In the case of nos. 22, 23, and 24 the class is somewhat uncertain. The examples given under 1 (c) and 1 (d) might be very much extended. They are given chiefly for the sake of illustration.

Of the forty doublets considered, at least eighteen, and possibly more than half, are due to the editors, and so are useful mainly in illustrating their methods of work. On the other hand, the undoubted doublets in the sources themselves are very few, at most one in Mk., two or three in Q, and about two besides. About sixteen, that is, less than half, are traceable to a double source, and thus receive a real double attestation.

T. STEPHENSON.

IRISH APOCRYPHA.

I

THE transmission of apocryphal writings, otherwise unknown, in the Irish vernacular would be a proper subject for a small monograph. That I cannot attempt; but I should like to put on record a contribution to it.

Two Irish writings are concerned. (1) The book called the *Evernew Tongue*. (2) The *Vision of Adamnan*.

The first exists in three texts: (L) the oldest and longest in the fifteenth-century Book of Lismore; (R) a second in MSS at Rennes and elsewhere, appreciably shorter and more modern; (M) a third in a MS transcribed as late as 1817.

L is edited and translated by Whitley Stokes in *Eriu* vol. ii, 1905; R and M by G. Dottin in vols. 24 and 28 respectively of the *Revue Celtique*.

Stated as briefly as possible, the content of the *Evernew Tongue* is this.

The works of God and wonders of creation were unknown to mankind until they were declared by the Evernew Tongue to the wise men of the Hebrews on Mount Sion.

A multitude of kings and bishops was assembled there. On Easter Eve a great light shone on them from heaven and a marvellous voice was heard.

The speaker was the Evernew Tongue; the tongue of the Apostle Philip, which had been cut out of his head nine (or seven or three) times by the heathen, and restored each time.

In a series of answers to questions asked by the wise men of the Hebrews, it described the works of the six days of creation, Hell, the day of Judgement, the beauty of God and of Heaven.

The assembly dispersed and wrote down the revelation.

Under each of the six days (after the first) a good deal of detail is given,

viz. The seven heavens, and the zones: wonderful seas, wells, and rivers; wonderful stones and trees: the stars: the course of the sun at night: marvellous birds and tribes of men.

The only incident in the course of the book is that about the middle of it a certain descendant of Judas Iscariot rises and says he does not believe what the Tongue has said. He is smitten with instant death.

The text is extremely obscure and involved : many passages yield no clear sense even to Stokes or Dottin. Stokes says that the text L may safely be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century.

Is it merely an Irish extravaganza, or is there cause for regarding it as a version of an older document? There is : in L passages in Latin occur with some frequency. They are absent from R and M. L also gives a number of sentences in a jargon said to be the language of angels.

It is no doubt a habit with Irish church-writers to intercalate Latin phrases into the midst of Irish texts. The *scholia* on the *Liber Hymnorum* or on the Lives of Saints in the Book of Lismore show this again and again. But the case of the *Evernew Tongue* is not quite the same. The Latin in it appears (a) as rendering of the 'angelic language' in several cases; (b) the questions of the wise men are six times given in Latin; (c) commonly the questions when in Irish are prefaced by 'Dixerunt sapientes Ebreorum' (or 'plebs Ebreica' or the like); (d) a long paragraph at the end descriptive of the joys of heaven is wholly in Latin. Thus the Latin is in the form of connected sentences, not isolated words. Stokes had no hesitation in regarding it as taken from an original in Latin (which he guessed might have been an Apocalypse of Philip), and no better opinion than his could be asked for.

There was, then, a Latin apocryph of St Philip, which we have in this Irish dress, and, it seems, in no other. To trace its relationships and assign to it a place in literature will be worth while, if it can be done.

I may say at once that its right place is not among apocalypses, but among dialogues. There is a fairly large class of old writings in the form of question and answer, of which the prototypes have not been finally investigated.

The Greek (and Slavonic) group will be found very important, but texts are hard to procure. Those printed by Krasnoselcev in Addenda to Vassiliev's *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Odessa, 1898) I have not seen. Nachtigall's article in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, 1901, gives almost all the quotations in Slavonic. The best accessible source at present is C. F. Georg Heinrici's tract *Griechisch-Byzantinische Gesprächsbücher* in *Abh. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. f. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 28 (1910-1911). Most of the tracts are anonymous, but the leading one in Slavonic is a dialogue of the three doctors Basil, Gregory, and John Chrysostom. The questions of John, the late dialogue of the Panagiote

and the Azymite, and other texts printed by Vassiliev belong to this class. Kemble's edition of *Salomon and Saturn* gives a good quantity of material in Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and other vernaculars.

These texts are for the most part thoroughly vulgar and popular in character, full of folk-lore and descending to elementary jokes. *Salomon and Saturn* and the *Evernew Tongue* are the only ones which can claim to be thought of as literature, and these are sufficiently bizarre.

It is true that the category of apocalypse runs into that of dialogue, for question and answer are an important element in even the most classical of apocalypses, e.g. 4 Esdras. But in the dialogue class they are paramount. These writings may have been developed out of apocalypse, but they constitute a distinct group.

Points of contact—apart from general form—between the *Evernew Tongue* and some of the older dialogues are discoverable. The *E. T.* (§§ 65–81 Stokes) tells of the twelve places where the sun shines at night: in all the texts a good deal is said about his visit to Hell during these hours. The prose *Salomon and Saturn* of Vitellius A. xv and the *Adrian and Ritheus* (both in Kemble) have something corresponding to this: *S. and S.* no. 55 Why is the sun red at evening? because it looketh down on hell. *A. and R.* no. 6 Where the sun shineth by night? in three places, first in the belly of the whale that is called Leviathan, second in hell, third on the island that is called Glið, and there rest the souls of holy men till doomsday. . . . Why is it so red at evening? because it looketh down on hell. This last answer is also in the late *Master of Oxford's* Catechism. Compare *E. T.* (L) 74 He shines on the ribs of the great beast that distributes the many seas round the flanks of the earth: (R) he grows red after the fiery dwellings of the sea on the west . . . he shines on the gates of hell to the north: (M) he shines on the Land of the Young (Tir n'an Oge?) full of the fairest and most melodious birds of the world.

Another image which is common to several of the texts is that of a monstrous bird. *E. T.* 58 describes the huge bird Hiruath or Joruaith in India: *S. and S.* (verse: ll. 517–562) the great bird called *Vasa Mortis*: the *Collectanea Bedae* has an allegory on the subject of the Indian bird Goballus.

There is not, I think, here a question of borrowing by one set of documents from another, but rather of employment of a common source, or adoption of current folk-lore.

The *Evernew Tongue*, however, is not wholly dependent on current folk-lore: it could not well be so, if it is indeed a rendering of a Latin original. It is, to a certain extent, learned. The descriptions of marvellous fountains, stones, trees, races of men, are such as we meet with in Solinus, Isidore, and other borrowers of ancient lore. I do not

think that any of these descriptions in their present form can be recognized as quotations; but a couple of specimens will serve to shew how near they are to the old sources.

E. T. 44. The stone adamant in India is not cooled by ice nor heated by fire, nor broken by axes or hammers. Save the blood of the Lamb at Mass, nothing breaks it. (This last touch, as Stokes has seen, is a Christianizing of Pliny's statement that only the blood of the he-goat can break the diamond.) Every king who takes it in his right hand before a battle, routs his foes.

45. The stone Hibien in the lands of Hab flames like fire at night: it spills every poison out of the vessel in which it is put, and kills all snakes that approach or cross it.

Such matter as this is common in the Lapidaries, and it is to that class of book, and to the *libri de monstis* and the 'paradoxographers' generally, that one must look to find illustrations of these parts of the *Evernew Tongue*. In this respect it stands alone, I think, among *apocrypha*.

The relation between this and other legends of St Philip is obscure. The Eastern Acts, Greek and Syriac, are a most extravagant romance, with stories of a talking ox, a converted leopard and kid, and so forth. The Greek Acts represent the Apostle as having been crucified at Hierapolis. The Latin Acts, on the other hand, which form the last (tenth) book of the *Historia Apostolica* of Abdias, are short and tame: St Philip performs one miracle, in the eviction of a serpent-god from the temple of Mars, and dies a peaceful death at Hierapolis at the age of 86.

One episode in the Greek Acts—that called the *Acta Philippi in Hellade*—resembles, superficially at least, the *E. T.* In it the Apostle converts an assembly of 300 philosophers, and causes an unbelieving Jewish high-priest to be swallowed up in the earth by instalments. Here also, and in the Martyrdom, are sentences of so-called Hebrew, which recall the 'angelic language' of the *E. T.* A peculiar feature, by the way, of all such passages, is that the interpretation of them is wont to exceed vastly in length the possible content of the original.

The Irish Passion of St Philip (Atkinson *Passions and Homilies* p. 356) in the *Leabhar Breac* blends the Eastern and Western Acts in a curious way. It is in the main a version of Abdias. Just before Abd. cap. 3 it inserts a sentence 'Hierapolis was the name of the city in which Philip was afterwards crucified'. It somewhat expands the address made by Philip to his clergy 'on the 12th day before his passion'. Then, in place of the notice of his peaceful death, it proceeds to say that 'the unbelieving crowds and the Jewish priests rose against him and ordered his tongue to be cut out. This was done, but none the

less did he go on teaching the people. They cut it out again, but that did him no hurt. Seven times was this done, yet he stopped not his teaching all that time. So they ordered him to be stoned. He was beaten and otherwise maltreated, and finally crucified.' There was seen a great glory with a concourse of angels round the cross, when Philip gave up the ghost. Then the concluding sentences of Abdias, about the age of the Apostle, and his virgin-daughters, are inserted, with some slight expansions.

It may very well be the case (though it is not certain) that the passage about St Philip's tongue is here borrowed from the *E. T.*: but upon the whole it seems clear that the Irish legend-writer was conscious of a story of Philip's martyrdom which is characteristic of the Eastern as opposed to the Western Acts.

The Hymn to St Philip in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (Atkinson and Bernard, ii 83) is no more than a paraphrase of §§ 92-96 of the *E. T.*, a fact naturally not noticed by the editors, to whom the text of the *E. T.* was not accessible.

I find it impossible to discern a reasonable setting for the *E. T.* The instruction given by St Philip was, it is said, the beginning of the faith; and yet there are thousands of bishops in his audience, Jerusalem is a Christian city, Easter is kept, and the events of Christ's life are assumed as known. The prologue, again, says that until this teaching was given, mankind were in complete ignorance about the works of God. All one can safely say is that in these particulars the Irish embellisher has been taking great liberties with his original. That there was an original, and that it was comparatively brief and simple, I do not doubt. A parallel instance is afforded, I think, by the poetical *Salomon and Saturn*, which I regard as an elaboration of a much shorter ancient document: not improbably the *Contradictio Salomonis* condemned in the Gelasian decree.

II

The two later texts of the *Evernew Tongue*, viz. that of the Rennes MS (R) and the modern recension (M), both have passages not found in L which recur in the *Vision of Adamnan* (Ad.). Some of these seem to be quotations from Ad., others may be from a source of Ad.

The Vision of Adamnan is said to be at least as old as the tenth century. Two texts of it exist: both are printed in Irish by Windisch (*Irische Texte*), and the older of the two has been edited in English with an interesting commentary by A. Boswell (*An Irish Precursor of Dante*). The text which he does *not* follow has a prologue of a homiletic character and one or two expansions which undoubtedly seem to mark it as later and less good than the other.

This consists of a preface (on which see a note by me in *J. T. S.* 1910, p. 290), a description of heaven, a description of hell, and an epilogue. The passages which concern us are all in the description of heaven.

E. T. 23 (R) The heaven and 7,000 angels with the form of horse and of bird. = Ad. 3 Six thousand thousand in guise of horses and of birds surround the fiery chair.

E. T. 86 (R) Though there be no glory there save of the 7,000 angels that are there as candles, yet every human being would be satiated with the perfume of one single one = Ad. 13 7,000 angels, as it were great candles, illumine the city. The men of all the world would derive sustenance from the sweet savour of a single one.

These two passages, I think, may safely be regarded as quotations made from Ad. by R. The borrowings (if such they be) of M are more important: and, be it noted, M does not contain those which have just been cited.

E. T. 64 (15 M) The Hebrews ask about the seven heavens, their names, and what is the punishment and penance in each. They are answered thus: The seven heavens are Air, Ether, Olympus, Ignitum, Caelum, Hesperium, Caelum Trinitatis. Each has a gate and a guard. Of the first heaven the citadel is Abistum. Michael is the guard. By him are two young men with rods of iron to smite sinners. This is their first torment.

The gate of the second heaven is Illisiom, the guardian Uriel. There are two attendants who wash souls, and three fountains which purify the good and burn the bad.

The gate of the third is Jarian, the guardian Raphael. There is something in it (disguised by a lacuna) 12,000 in height. Just souls cross the river at once, wicked ones stay in it twelve years. It is seven times as cold as snow.

The gate of the fourth is Lazarus, the guardian Sariel. There is a river of fire, unlike other rivers. Souls of sinners remain in it. When the time comes for their release, an angel draws near with a thorn-rod of iron: each thorn of it has 100 points and makes 100 wounds on the face of each sinner.

Michael carries the souls to the seventh heaven, that of the Trinity, and presents them to God, who receives each according to his desert. [Christ says to the angels: Shew the glory of the heavenly city to the sinners, that their sorrow at leaving me may be the greater. The Hebrews said: How many rewards are there in heaven? *Ans.*: Six hundred and two, and as many in hell.] The Almighty says to the angels: Take the unbelieving soul out of the sight of the heavenly city: and He separates it from the protection of the angels who have guarded

it hitherto. It utters a sigh heavier than any sigh. Twelve poisonous serpents swallow it one after the other, and pass it on into the mouth of the devil [and Lucifer plunges it into the mansions of hell, which are Aesiro (Acheron), Ceticriso, Sasertus (Tartarus?). Costas (Cocytus), and Flexeton (Phlegethon)].

With this compare §§ 15 sqq. of Ad. In these there is no enumeration of the heavens, but there is part of the account of the gates and guardians. The gate of the first heaven is not named, but the rest agrees with M. For the second heaven the gate is not named: Ariel is the guardian. Two youths with fiery scourges smite the wicked on the face and eyes. There is a river of fire before the gate, watched by Abersetus, who purges just souls till they shine. A pleasant spring is near, to cleanse them and to scald the bad. Third heaven: no names are given: there are flames of a furnace 12,000 cubits high: the rest as in M. Fourth heaven: no names: a fiery stream at the door: a wall of fire 12,000 cubits broad. The just pass it, the bad cannot for twelve years, till their guardian angel brings them to the Fifth heaven. There is a fiery river unlike other rivers, with whirlpools. Sinners stay there sixteen years, righteous pass it at once. When the time of release comes, an angel smites them with a rod, hard as though of stone, and lifts up the souls with the end of it. Michael brings them to the door of the Sixth heaven: there is no torment there, but lustre as of precious stones. Then Michael comes to the Angel of the Trinity, and, one on each side, they present the soul to God. The remainder of the passage corresponds closely with M, omitting the bracketed passages.

One thing is evident: M is not using our present text of Adamnan, but one partly better, partly worse: better in that it gives names which Ad. has not, worse in that it telescopes the fourth and fifth heaven into one, and omits the sixth.

A third document of earlier date now comes in to complicate matters. We have a Latin text of part of this description of the heavens. It is one of a series of passages (mostly of a homiletic kind) published by Dom D. de Bruyne from a Reichenau MS (254 at Carlsruhe) of cent. viii-ix (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1907, p. 311). It must be quoted almost in full. I italicize the words which correspond to anything either in Ad. or M.

'Omnis roris qui descendit de austro super faciem terrae sursum ascendit in celum cum ipsum. *Abottem (= Abistum of M) tertium celum in medio eius fornacem ardentem. Ita constitutum est altitudo flamme xii milia cupitis. anima sanctorum et peccatorum per illum ueheuntur. anima sanctorum in momento pertransit, anima uero peccatorum xii annis habitant in medio fornacem ardentem. Tunc uenit angelus baiulat illius usque ad quartum celum qui uocatur iothiam*

(cf. *Jarian* of M) ubi habitat *flumini igneo et muro flumini. altitudo flumini xii milia cubitis* et fluctus eius exal(t)atur usque ad quintum celum *et ubi (ibi) peccatoris morantur xii annis in medio fluminis.* Tunc angelus adfert illum usque *ad sextum celum* qui appellatur Seloth. *In medio eius rotam et angelo tartarucho cum uirgis ferreis* percutientis rotam *et inde uoluitur in gyru et flumine* tres. ponitur (? transponitur) homo peccatur (-or) super rotam. xii annis tormentatur. *Centum* scintille procedit de rotam *et centum pondus in uno* scindule et centum anime percremant. Deinde tradatur homo peccator ad celum septimum qui uocatur Theruch ubi dominus *habitat super lapidem preciosum unde uenit lux et ignis de lapide.* Dominus iudicat de illo homo peccator *et tradatur hunc ad angelum tartarucho.* Et angelus *dimergit eum in infernum.* ciuitas ferreas et muros ferreos igneos et xii turres *et xii dracones* in uno turres et xii penis et xii flagellis ardentis. Uae impii et peccatoris etc., etc. Uae his habitantis in inferno . . . ubi draco antiquos ubi leones *et dracones interficient impiis et peccatoris* usque in diem resurrectionis in secula seculorum.

If the date assigned to Ad. (tenth century) is correct, we must regard the apocalypse, of which this is a corrupt fragment or quotation, as a source of Ad. and, possibly, of M. It must be fairly ancient: it represents most of the heavens as the scenes of purgation and punishment, and in this it agrees with the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, and, to a certain extent, with the Slavonic Enoch. But it shews no obligation to either of these books, nor to any other that I know. It has a single mark of date in its use of the word *tartaruchus*, a word invented, as I believe, by the author of the *Apoc. Petri* (and used in the *Apoc. Pauli* and others of that class). To that book it may also owe the conception of a river of fire which spares the good and burns the wicked. If so, it is a Christian book.

That it was current in Ireland is seen from its use in Ad. and M; and this leads me to the remark that all the fragments printed by De Bruyne from the Reichenau MS (Reichenau was an Irish foundation) appear to be from a Celtic workshop. They are linked together by many catchwords and phrases, and the same peculiar Latinity runs through them all. In no. 3 there is a distinct quotation from the Apocalypse of Thomas, another indication of the fondness of the Irish for obscure apocrypha.

M. R. JAMES.

THE LITERARY UNITY OF THE *ASCENSIO ISAIÆ*.

AMONG the attractive things in Professor Burkitt's lectures on *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (1914) none can compare with his view of the unity of the *Ascensio*. For its tripartite character has been maintained with an energy only surpassed, it may be, by that spent on the three divisions in man which were essential to the ancient students of his nature. That Psychology seems to later students to have made its divisions with an insensitive instrument; and the Schweich lecturer says that a simple writing can be made into a composite one by the same means. He states these reasons for his criticism: (1) The story of Isaiah's martyrdom is 'an integral part of the *Ascension* constructed from the writer's knowledge of the early imperfect Greek translation of the Books of the Kings, supplemented here and there by stray fragments of Jewish lore'; (2) 'In the *Ascension of Isaiah* the idea that the End is the chief thing in history is crossed by the new Christian idea that it is the Incarnation of the Messiah, an event now passed, which is the chief thing in history'—it is the writer's attempt to fuse these two which might start the view of the book's divided nature.¹ Thus the Isaian Martyrdom is a Greek Christian Romance which was composed to give the Visions a semblance of historical context; and the Isaian Visions are an essay in pictorial Christology. These two parts stand to one another as introduction and introduced matter. Then they were composed at the same time by a Christian writer. But their unity is more radical even than this view shews.

The unity of the writing is religious as well as literary; and because both so-called *Martyrium* and *Visio* were inspired by the same early literary source for Christology. The book describes its own source; and with great care. This description is in *Ascensio* iv 21–22. It has been the custom of commentators and editors² to include that passage as a piece of the text, from iv 19 to v 1, which is to be marked with the judgement, an 'editorial addition'. The acuteness of its indication of literary source could be taken as being either against this opinion and for the originality of the passage, or it could mean that the hypothetical

¹ Burkitt, 45–47, 72–74.

² For example, the most recent English work on the *Ascensio* thus deals with the passage, Charles *The Ascension of Isaiah*, 1900, 37; Box *The Ascension of Isaiah*, 1918 (the first title of this book is *The Apocalypse of Adam*).

editor was an informed theological scholar. The passage is, however, the writer's justification for his Preface to the account of the Ascent. And the idea of its being an interpolation appears to be not wanted. The passage runs:—

21. 'And the descent of the Beloved into Sheol, behold, it is written in the section, where the Lord says: "Behold, my son will understand." And all these things, behold they are written [in the Psalms] in the Parables of David, the son of Jesse, and in the Proverbs of Solomon his son, and in the words of Korah, and Ethan the Israelite, and in the words of Asaph, and in the rest of the Psalms also which the angel of the Spirit inspired, 22. (Namely) in those which have not the name written, and in the words of my father Amos, and of Hosea the prophet, and of Micah and Joel and Nahum and Jonah and Obadiah and Habakkuk and Haggai and Zephaniah and Zechariah and Malachi, and in the words of Joseph the Just and in the words of Daniel.'¹

There is a notable particularity about this passage. For the subject of the 'Descent of the Beloved' is said to have been written in a certain section of a writing, and the whole subject of the book is said to have been attested therein by a long list of writers whose names are given one after another. What was the writing of which precise mention has been made? And what are its relations to the catalogue of names? The writing is the *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos*.² The *Ascensio* will approve this claim. Now it will be seen from the above citation that not only is a certain section mentioned, but also that a distinguishing feature from it, in the shape of a testimonium, is quoted and related to the subject of the Beloved's Descent. Canon Charles thus comments on this testimonium: 'This quotation is taken from Isa. lii 13, where the LXX has ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου. παῖς has been rendered "son" by the Ethiopic translator. It is hard to recognize in Isa. lii 13–liii any reference to his Descent in Hades. . . . The LXX phrase [liii 8 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἦχθη εἰς θάνατον] may have been interpreted in this way by early Christians.' But the writer of the Preface to the *Ascensio* knew that Isa. lii 13 was used by first-century Christianity in relation to the Lord's Descent. A valuable *Testimonia* text like the *De Fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* of Isidore Hispalensis is a proof. For it says: 'Quia pauper et abiectus in primo adventu suo venerit, sanctus Isaias sic indicat, dicens: Dicite, filiae Sion. Ecce rex tuus venit tibi iustus,

¹ This is Canon Charles's translation. Concerning the textual difficulty: [in the Psalms] in the Parables of David . . . and in the Proverbs of Solomon, &c.—perhaps the text should read: 'Psalms of David . . . Parables of Solomon.' For the second title compare Salonius's writing *In Parabolas Salomonis* (P. L. liii). That Father used writers who knew the ancient Christological source.

² On the subject of *Testimonia* see Rendel Harris and Vacher Burch *Testimonies Part i*, 1916; Bindley *Interpreter*, 1918, 210–219.

et salvator, pauper, sedens super asinum indomitum.¹ This testimonium is followed by others taken from Isa. liii and xlii. It is to be seen that the evidence fulfils exactly the demands for a writing which should have a section in it given up to the subject of the Descent together with a specified testimonium for that subject, and that these should be representative of the literary source of the *Ascensio*. The suspicion that a temporal paradox is meant by speaking of the first and quoting the seventh century can be easily taken away. The Cyprianic *Testimonia*, for example, under the heading *Quod humilis in primo adventu suo veniret*,² quotes Isa. liii and xlii. Each one who hands on the anti-Judaic document becomes in a sense its editor; for he selects from the original what testimonies he shall keep. It seems plain that they were never numerous under their several headings; but the copyist at least does drop one here and there. Isidore then is using the same Christological material as the writer of the apocryphon, and it is arranged for each of them in the same way. Moreover, the Cyprianic writing makes it certain that the grouping of the testimonies and the testimonies grouped under the heading mentioned in the *Ascensio* are not instances of curious agreement between Isidore and its author, but that both writers are drawing upon an inherited document.³ Before the tests for a *Testimonia* base to the Isaian writing are carried further, it may be well to notice one other chief testimonium for the *Haïs* who came down. It will serve to shew the manner of His descent. This testimonium is Ecclus. iv 13, the *παῖς πένης καὶ σοφός*. Eusebius, in his *Eclogae Propheticae* iii 4, shews that in it was thought to be inwrought the truth of His descent and ascent, of how He came down in rags and overcame and in His ascent carried away the riches of life from the world of the dead. Whilst this is directly in union with the conception of the Beloved in the *Ascensio*, it is perhaps more interesting to follow certain glimpses of the literary genealogy of this testimonium. Jerome's commentary *In Eccl.* iv 13 preserves the fact that Victorinus and Origen agree in the comment which he makes on the passage.⁴ The comment is the same in nature as that in Eusebius,⁵ and is upheld by other

¹ i 15. 1; *P. L.* lxxxiii 472 C. Compare especially Justin i *Ap.* 50, Tertullian *Adversus Iudaeos* 14, and also see Origen *Contra Celsum* i 54, *Selecta in Psalmos* ii 2.

² ii 13.

³ Barnabas *Ep.* v 2; *Dial. Ath. and Zac.* 38 ff, *Dial. Timothy and Aq.* fol. 113 (ed. Conybeare); Justin *Trypho* 14. 8, 32. 2, 42. 2, 49. 2, 85. 1, 100. 2, 110. 2, 114. 2; Lactantius *Div. Inst.* iv. 16; Athanasius *de Inc.* 34; Isidore *Hisp. de Fide Catholica* &c. i 15. 2 ff; Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* xiii 13; Chrysostom *Hom. Quod Deus Christus* viii 626 (ed. Eton), *Contra Iudaeos* iii, viii 341; Evagrius *Altercatio* vi 24.

⁴ *P. L.* xxiii 1050 B.

⁵ Jerome has, however, dropped the Sophia element in the argument which is kept by Eusebius. This phase is dealt with in my book, which is now nearly

Testimony matter. Moreover, Jerome's comment is shewn to have this ancient ancestry because of its verbal harmony with the *In Ecclesiasten Exp. Mystica* of Salonijs and the *Quaestiones et Responsiones in Eccl.* of Honorius of Autun when these writings state: 'Iste puer cum esset dives factus esset pauper pro nostra salute.'¹ It is clear that Salonijs has not used Jerome as a source; and his outlook appears to be too naïve that Origen should have been father to his work. Victorinus, therefore, would have been his literary ancestor. And is there not a direct line through Victorinus to Papias? Anyway the testimonium commented upon by these writers helps the interpretation of the crucial statements (iv 21) as to the literary source of the *Ascensio*.

The catalogue of names which follows those statements has no significance as an unusual canonical list. This view has been held by some scholars.² The catalogue simply details many of the recurrent names in the text of the *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos*. And these have become implicit stuff in the apocryphon. But that list closes with the uncanonical item 'and in the words of Joseph the Just'. It has been identified with the Προσευχὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ. That writing has been said hitherto to be 'anti-Christian'.³ If it had been such, it could not have had a place in a list of anti-Judaic writings. Indeed its own evidence is that it was pro-Christian, and inspired by the old *Testimonia* source. The chief theme of the fragments preserved of the *Prayer of Joseph* is the surpassing of one angel-appearance of the Christ by another—of Uriel by Israel. It is known now that Uriel was a Testimony hypostasis of this nature, for the Ethiopic *Narrative of Saint Clement*⁴ contains this helpful passage: 'And I [Peter] gave them commandments concerning circumcision according to the Law of Moses, and God (i.e. Christ) appeared unto me in the form of the angel Uriël, and commanded me to do away the Old Law, and to bring in the New.' The angel-appearance is not only explained, but the passage also relates, in a radical way, the Christ who is Uriel with two fundamental Testimony subjects, namely, the passing away of the old form of circumcision and of the Old Law for the new form of circumcision and the New Law. The part that Israel plays in these two matters is to be seen, for instance, in the Cyprianic *Testimonia* i 8-11. Just as in the *Prayer* so in the *Testimonia* i 20 Jacob and Israel are as prototype and type of

complete, on the exegetical basis of early Christian thought. Another outstanding use of *naïs* is in *Didachē* ix 2, 3, x 2, 3.

¹ P. L. liii 1003 A and P. L. clxxii 340 A.

² Cf. Charles, 39.

³ e.g. Marshall, Hastings's *D. B.* ii 778 b; Charles, 39.

⁴ Frag. in Origen *Comm. in Evang. Ioannis* ii 31 (25).

⁵ Budge *The Contendings of the Apostles*, 1899, Eth. i 394, Eng. ii 479-480.

the Christ. Justin Martyr is of great service in this matter where, for example, he writes *εἰς ἐπίδειξιν ὅτι καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Ἰακώβ καλεῖται ἐν παραβολῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, and again *καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ αὐτὸς ἦν καλούμενος, καὶ τὸν Ἰακώβ τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι ὁμοίως μετωνομάκει*.¹ Further, on turning to Book ii 5 of this same collection the heading is found *Quod idem angelus et Deus*; and the chief testimonies there, Gen. xxii 11-12 and xxxi 13, explain the relations of the Angel-Christ to the patriarchs, and thus why it can be said of them in the *Prayer* *προεκτίσθησαν πρὸ παντὸς ἔργου*. Again, in ii 6, which is headed thus: *Quod Deus Christus*, Israel receives his chrism as *ὁ ἐν προσώπῳ θεοῦ λειτουργὸς πρῶτος*, and especially on the base of the well-known testimonium Baruch iii 35-37.² And the remarkable ascription to Israel *ὅτι ἐγὼ πρωτόγονος παντὸς ζῶον ζωνμένου ὑπὸ θεοῦ* instead of 'undoubtedly recalling Col. i 15 *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*,'³ more surely recalls the source of both its and the Colossian ascription, which are the testimonia Prov. viii 22-31, Eccl. xxiv 3-7, and whose heading is *Christum primogenitum esse et ipsum esse sapientiam Dei, per quem omnia facta sunt*.⁴ These are sufficient proofs of the anti-Judaic character⁵ of the *Prayer of Joseph*, and also of its Testimony base. Both these considerations will influence the dating of the *Ascensio*.⁶

The next point to be raised is whether the sawing asunder of Isaiah has a place in *Testimonia*. The discovery would complete the case for

¹ Justin *Trypho* 36 and 75; cf. also 100 *ὅς καὶ Σοφία, καὶ Ἡμέρα, καὶ Ἀνατολή, καὶ Μάχαιρα, καὶ Λίθος, καὶ Πάβδος, καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ*, and 126 for like series of names; see also Maximus Taurinensis *Tractatus V contra Iudaeos* (P. L. lvii) 806 A.

² For Testimony use of Baruch *Dial. Ath. and Zac.* 21, 24, *Dial. Timothy and Aq.* fol. 81, 83, 126; Cyprian *Test.* ii 6; Irenaeus *Apostolic Preaching* 97; Hippolytus *Contra Noetum* 2, 5; Lactantius *Div. Inst.* iv 13; Eusebius *Eclg. Proph.* iii 39; Gregory Nyss. *Test. adv. Iudaeos* ii; Athanasius *Orat. contra Arianos* i 19, ii 42, 49; Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* xi 15; Evagrius *Altercatio* i 6, also Cyril of Alexandria *In Ioannis Evang.* i (P. G. lxxiii) 132 A, 553 D because in his time there was a revival of ancient anti-Judaica; Anastasius Sinaitae *Adv. Iudaeos Disputatio* (P. G. lxxxiii) 1220 B, 1228 A as a representative of the later revival of this literature which extended to the utmost limit of the Middle Age in Byzantium (cf. Krumbacher *Byz. Lit.* 48). Latin writers, from the fifth century to the Middle Age, in like manner employ Baruch.

³ Charles, 40.

⁴ The term *πρωτόγονος* is a sign that the document is Alexandrian. See my article *Expositor*, 1917, 305.

⁵ Origen ii 31 (25) *εἰ δέ τις προσέται καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις φερομένων ἀποκρύφων τὴν ἐπιγραφομένην Ἰωσήφ προσευχὴν* is not against this view.

⁶ If the *ἐν ταῖς πλαzaῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* in which the misdeeds of the sons of Jacob are written (Origen *Philocalia* xxiii 19) is a quotation from the *Prayer*, then that document may also have influenced the literary shape of the *Ascensio*, compare ix 22 and 'the book in which the deeds of the children of Israel were written'.

the unity of the apocryphon. There would be then more than a literary reason for the composition of the Preface; though that would appear to be a sufficient one. There are two orders of evidence which demonstrate that the indications of literary source, given in the *Ascensio*, for the body of the work, hold good for its Preface. (i) The primary evidence can be represented by the following writers when they set forth the suffering Christ:—

Justin *Tyrpho* 120 ὡς καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαίου, ὃν πρίονι ξιλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε. The value of this witness is enhanced by the fact that Justin places the example of Isaiah in the heart of his argument for the relations of Jacob and Israel with Christ and Christ's new people.

Tertullian *de Patientia* xiv 'His patientiae viribus secatur Isaias, et de Domino non tacet'—cf. *As. Is.* v 9, 14; *Adv. Gnos. Scorp.* viii 'Esaias secatur'. Tertullian's version of the Testimony Book, *Adv. Iudaeos*, is very valuable.

Lactantius *de Div. Inst.* iv 11 'Esaias enim, quem ipsi Iudaei serra confectum crudelissime necaverunt, ita dicit: Audi caelum' etc. (*Isa.* i 2 ff). Thus with his quotation he breaks again into the text of the *Testimonia*—compare, e.g., Cyprianic *Test.* i 3.

Athanasius *de Incarnatione* 37 Ἡσαίας ἐπίσθη μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ξύλου κεκρέμασται. Again, this is a factor in Testimony material.

Pseudo-Cyprian *Adversus Iudaeos* 2 'Esaiam secabant Christum vociferantem'. The title of this work tells its character.

Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* ii 14 ὁ τὸν Ἡσαίαν πρίσας, xiii 6 εἶτα Ἡσαίας μὲν πισθεῖς οὐκ αἰσχύνεται, Χριστὸς δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου τελευτῶν αἰσχυθήσεται. This writer uses *Testimonia* throughout his lectures. It is to be noticed, and because of Prof. Burkitt's shewing that a literary source of the Preface to the *Ascensio* was in iii and iv Kings, that Cyril embeds his first reference to the Isaian type in matter from those biblical writings.

Hebrews xi 37 ἐπίσθησαν. This last chief illustration must be given though, as will be shewn, it involves the resetting of the current views of this New Testament writing. The unaccompanied verb would appear to denote a well-known context.

(ii) Secondary evidence for the view of the unity of the *Ascensio* is in those writers who shew familiarity with the exegesis of the *Testimonia* by the matter and views from that book which they express in their writings. Among them are the following: Hippolytus *de Antichristo* 30; Origen *Selecta in Psalmos*, *Hom.* i 1 (xxxvii), *Comm. in Matt.* x 18, *In Ep. ad Rom.* viii 6, *In Is. Hom.* i 5; Ps.-Tertullian *Adv. Marcionem* iii 225 ff; Theodoret *Interp. Ep. ad Hebraeos* xi 37.

This investigation may now return to its chief subject by way of

mediaeval Latin Christianity, which can be represented by Petrus Cluniacensis, who, in his *Tractatus contra Iudaeos*, revives the Testimony Book and with it the testimonium Isa. lii 13 for the descent of Christ in the Incarnation (*P. L.* clxxxix 544 B).

It has been shewn then that the source of the doings of the Beloved and of Isaiah is in the primitive *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos*. Thus every way there is support for the assertion that the *Ascensio* is a single and simple writing. What is its date? Charles dates the Preface, or so-called *Martyrium*, as being 'first century A. D.'¹ There is no reason to go beyond this limit for the whole apocryphon. Commentators on the Preface have said that its text shews the influence of Matthew's Gospel in three places: i 4 (title of the Beloved); iii 18 καὶ μαθητεύσουσιν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πᾶσαν γλῶσσαν εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ, iv 3 τὴν φυτείαν ἣν φυτεύουσιν—that is to say (1) Matt. xii 18; (2) Matt. xxviii 19; (3) Matt. xv 3.² Rather 2 and 3 are like 1, pre-Matthaean material. The *Testimonia* is also before the time of the writing of the Gospel; for excerpts from the first are in the second writing. If the date of Matthew is 70, then the *Ascensio* is before that time. Nor do the passages in it which appear to be able to indicate its date, or at least seem to be able to yield some temporal data, go against this view. Those passages are iv 2 and 14. The first of these is said to portray Nero: 'he will descend in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother' (Charles); and the second reads: 'after one thousand three hundred and thirty-two days the Lord will come', this passage having the double value in time of iv 12³: 'and he shall bear sway three years and seven months and twenty-seven days.' Nero should be put out of the *Ascensio* as well as out of the Apocalypse of John.⁴ Fresh findings declare that he has no place in either book. It is the traditional length of Christ's public life that is the datum of time in the *Ascensio*. The same length of rule is allowed to the Antichrist (iv 14). It is most probable that the apocryphon was written not long after the death of the Beloved. And even by that date the *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos* was old enough and young enough to have been the creative guide for the writing of the *Prayer of Joseph* which had a place in the Testimony text used by the writer of the *Ascensio Isaiae*.

VACHER BURCH.

¹ Charles, xlv; Burkitt, 46 'early part of the second century', because he sees Nero in *Ascensio* iv 2, and to allow time for the Nero-myth to grow.

² Charles, *ad loc.*

³ Dr. James *Camb. Rev.*, 1918, 438 has called attention to this fact.

⁴ Cf. Swete's Commentary c. xiii, and his doubt as to the place of Nero in the Apocalypse.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF BEDE'S *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA* AND THE COUNCILS OF 679-680.

I.

IN considering difficulties about dates in the latter part of the seventh century it may be taken for granted that Bede, the greatest master of chronology in the Middle Ages, did not make mistakes. If he went wrong, it would be in consequence of imperfect information as to the time when a particular king succeeded to his throne or matters of that sort. We may presume that his Indictions are correct, and his years of the Incarnation are nearly always computed by himself. But at the outset we are confronted by a difference of opinion as to what kind of Indiction was used in the texts of the Acts of Councils which Bede inserts in his history.

The oldest mode of reckoning the Indiction was the Greek one beginning with September 1; but in Bede's time the starting-point is found shifted to the 24th of that month. These two are the only forms of the Indiction with which we have to concern ourselves. It has, however, been often asserted that the so-called Pontifical Indiction—which I prefer to distinguish as the Roman Indiction—beginning on December 25 or January 1 has also to be taken into account. This is the more important because in Haddan and Stubbs's edition of the Councils the Roman Indiction is sometimes admitted as an alternative, and even as a preferable alternative, to the others. It is necessary, therefore, to give reasons for excluding it.

According to Franz Rühl¹ this Indiction of the New Year has been noticed as early as the sixth and seventh centuries; it would be more correct to say that evidence for its use has been cited from about the middle of the sixth century until A.D. 619, for it does not appear again until the ninth century. Rühl says that this reckoning of the Indiction was adopted by Dionysius Exiguus. This is not so. Dionysius deals with the Indiction only in his *Argumenta Paschalia*, chapter ii,² where he gives the familiar rule for computing it. But he says nothing about the day on which it began, for this was irrelevant to the subject of his tract, the chronological elements connected with Easter. There are, however, undoubtedly some inscriptions at Rome which seem to imply

¹ *Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* p. 173.

² *Migne P. L.* lxxvii 499.

a New Year's Indiction. The most famous example is an epitaph to one Theodorus and his son Theodoracius in the church of St Cecilia, of which an engraving is given by Antonio Maria Lapi.¹ The date of their interment is recorded as follows :

DEPOSITUSQUIN
TADECIMAN̄AUGUSTIIND̄SEPTIMAĒTFILIUSEIUSTHEODORACIQUI
BIXIT̄M̄VIIDEPOSITUSIDUSOCTORISIIMP̄DD̄NN̄PIISSIMISAUḠGHERACLI
OANNONONOF̄CEIUSDEM̄N̄ANNOOCTABOATQHERACLIOCONS
TANTINONOVOFILIOIPSIUSANNOSEPTIMOINDICTSEPTIMA .

Lapi proposed to emend the last word into *octavo* ; Clinton² thought that *idus octorisi* (for *idibus Octobribus*) was a blunder for *ii. K. Septembris*. The former correction is probably right ; the engraver having accidentally repeated the *septimo* just before, or else having been supplied with a text of the inscription in which the word was written indistinctly in numerals VIII^a. De Rossi,³ however, accepts the epitaph as definite proof of the use of the Roman Indiction, though elsewhere he draws attention to the frequency of errors in numerals in inscriptions of about this date.⁴

This is the only example of it which is free from ambiguity. In others cited by Gaetano Marini⁵ an uncertainty arises from the employment of the Post-Consular date. Mommsen,⁶ writing with reference to the time immediately preceding that to which these inscriptions belong, remarks that the dates on Christian inscriptions do not always agree with the official Post-Consular year : the masons must as a rule have trusted to memory for their dates, or else have used lists at hand which had not received the latest revision. Besides this, it should be added that the apparent use of the Roman Indiction has been in some cases inferred from inscriptions of which the dates are in fact compatible with the Greek style. There are indeed some specimens at Lyons which may possibly, as De Rossi thinks,⁷ bear witness to the employment of the Roman Indiction ; but it is not clear that the ambiguity in these instances is not due to an error in the calculus of Victorius which was current in Gaul. The specimens are so few, and most of them so doubtful, that they do not appear to furnish any sufficient evidence for the belief that in the sixth or seventh century the Indiction was reckoned from the New Year. Private persons may conceivably have

¹ *Dissertatio ad Severae Martyris Monumentum*, Palermo, 1734, p. 25.

² *Fasti Romani* iii 165.

³ *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* i (1857-1861), proleg. p. c.

⁴ P. 502 ; cf. proleg. p. xlviii.

⁵ *Papiri Diplomatici* pp. 260, 308.

⁶ 'Ostgothische Studien' i in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* xiv (1889) 237 f.

⁷ Proleg. p. xlviii.

adjusted the beginning of the Indiction to that of the civil year ; but to grant this is very different from supposing that this alteration was permitted in the official Acts of Councils.

In dealing, therefore, with the chronological data supplied by Bede, we may leave the Roman Indiction altogether out of account. We have a choice only between the Indictions beginning on the 1st and the 24th September, the Greek and the Caesarean. Now there is, as we shall see, good reason for holding that it was the Greek Indiction which was in use in the time of Archbishop Theodore, even as it continued to be the only one employed in the Papal chancery down to 1087. The Caesarean Indiction is first mentioned by Bede himself, in a treatise which he wrote in 725. He speaks of it without comment, as the accepted reckoning, but it seems most likely that it was his own invention designed to bring the Indiction into accord with the autumnal equinox.

The importance of establishing the type of Indiction in use becomes evident when we remember that the Indiction was the one stable element in the date of a document. The *annus Domini* was a recent importation. It was not intended to provide an era for historical purposes ; its object was merely to serve as a reference in Easter tables. Naturally therefore it was taken as running on the same lines as the Indiction ; and as the Indiction began four months before what we call the current year, so was the Year of Grace reckoned. The acceptance of this principle for the period with which we are concerned will, I believe, produce harmony between a number of dates which are regarded as discrepant. It will also have the result of fixing a good many events a year earlier than they are placed by modern scholars, though not always by their predecessors in the seventeenth century.

Next to the Indiction the most stable chronological elements in the History of Bede appear to be the Regnal Years, primarily of the Northumbrian kings but hardly less definitely of the kings of Kent. The Year of Grace has only indirect value for the purpose of determining dates. It was no part of the chronological tradition but was added by means of calculation. It does not therefore stand on the same footing as a date transcribed from an older text. Moreover, the Year of Grace and the Regnal Year began at different periods, and it was inevitable that in reckoning the former from the latter an error should frequently creep in. I write these words for instance in the 9th year of King George V, but that year began on May 10, 1918 ; the first four months of the calendar year belong to his 8th year. The common opinion is that these Years of Grace are Bede's own calculations, but Pagi's suggestion¹ that some of them were added by transcribers is worthy of notice.

¹ *Crit. in Baronii Annales* (ed. Lucca, 1742) xi 609.

In order to test the positions I have laid down, I may avail myself of a summary of chronological difficulties brought together by Mr Plummer in a note to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* iv 5.¹

1. Bede names February 15, 670, as the date of the death of Oswy, *qui est annus secundus ex quo Britanniam venit Theodorus*. Mr Plummer comments, 'February 15, 670, is within the first year of Theodore's arrival, seeing that he did not reach England until May, 669'. But in strictness there is no discrepancy. Bede does not say that a full year had elapsed, but merely that 670 was the second year after that in which Theodore reached England.

2. Mr Plummer cites book v 24, where 'Bede says distinctly that the Council of Hertford was held on September 24, 673, in the third year of Egfrid. But if Egfrid's accession was in February 670, this would be his fourth year.' The mentions of the regnal year and of the month come in fact from book iv 5; book v 24 gives only the Year of Grace. Now in the former reference Bede says that the Council was held in the first Indiction, and this began in September 672. Mr Plummer writes, 'If Theodore (like Bede himself) used the Caesarean Indiction, this day, September 24, 673, was the very first day of the first Indiction'.² It was not: September 24, 673, whether the Indiction be Greek or Caesarean, was in the second Indiction. Since then Bede reckons September 24 in the first Indiction as falling within the year 673, it follows that he began his year with the Indiction. This date for the Council of Hertford, September 24, 672, corresponds with Egfrid's third year.³

3. 'In c. 12 Bede says that the comet of August 678 was in Egfrid's eighth year; but August 678 is in the ninth year from February 670.' The comet was a famous phenomenon, but it was observed not in 678 but in 676. It appeared at the time of the election of Pope Donus, who was ordained on November 2, 676. About this date no doubt is possible: the entries in the *Liber Pontificalis* are contemporaneous and the records of the duration of each Pontificate are precisely stated. More than this, Bede's account of the comet was manifestly written with the description in the *Lives* of the Popes before him:

¹ *Opera Historica* ii 211.

² Vol. ii 212.

³ The correct date was pointed out by Mr Alfred Anscombe, in the *Athenaeum*, no. 3804 p. 380 (September 22, 1900). He also amended the years of death of King Edwin and of Paulinus in the same way as I have done. These results were at once accepted by Sir James Ramsay: *ibid.* no. 3810 p. 579 (November 3, 1900). [Since this paper was written I have noticed that the true date of the Council of Hertford was given by Bruno Krusch in the *Neues Archiv* ix 160, so long ago as 1884.]

LIBER PONTIFICALIS LXXX 3.

Hic dum esset electus, per Augusto mense, apparuit stella a parte orientis a gallo canto usque mane per menses tres, cuius radia coelos penetravit.

BEDE iv 12.

Apparuit mense Augusto stella quae dicitur cometa; et tribus mensibus permanens, matutinis horis oriebatur, excelsam radiantis flammae quasi columnam praeferens.

That the year given in the Liber Pontificalis is correct is proved by other evidence. A comet was observed in China at a time corresponding to the autumn of A.D. 676. It appeared in the East in the morning. On September 4 it was near the head of Gemini, and on November 1 it was no longer seen. Pingré,¹ from whom I learn these particulars, says that it might have been visible in Europe some days earlier. It should be mentioned that Pingré's dates are in disaccord with those given in the more modern work on the subject by John Williams,² where the comet is said to have been observed from July 7 to September 3. But this discrepancy, as Mr E. B. Knobel has pointed out,³ is due to the fact that Williams forgot that the year 676 had an intercalary month beginning on March 20.⁴ The month in which the comet appeared began on August 15. Consequently, Pingré's chronology is correct. The identity of the comet seen by the Chinese in 676 with that mentioned by the Papal biographer and by Bede is beyond dispute; and we need not take refuge in Pagi's argument that, since Donus's pontificate lasted one year, five months, and ten days from November 2, 676, the only August which it included was in 677 and that this therefore must have been the year of the comet.⁵ Still less will it do to speak with Mr Plummer of 'the comet of August 678'.

Nor is it even certain that Bede assigned it to this year. The next preceding year mentioned in the same chapter is 676, and in the summary at the end of the History⁶ the number DCLXXVIII appears to have been altered from DCLXXVII in the Moore MS which is regarded as the best authority for the text. Besides this, the year is given as 677 in a manuscript of the ninth or tenth century formerly at St Maximin's at Treves, from which Pierre François Chifflet printed the History in 1681.⁷ It is also recorded under this year by Florence of Worcester

¹ *Cométographie*, 1783, i 332 f.

² *Observations of Comets from B.C. 611 to A.D. 1640*, 1871, p. 41.

³ 'On the Astronomical Observations recorded in the Nihongi,' published in the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* lvi (1906) 72.

⁴ See W. Bramsen 'Japanese Chronology and Calendars' in the supplement to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* xxxvii (1910) p. 53. The rule for the intercalations is explained on pp. 18 ff.

⁵ *Crit. in Baronii Ann.* xi 608 b.

⁶ *H.E.* v 24.

⁷ *Bedae Presbyteri et Fredegarii Scholastici Concordia* pp. 210, 313. Chifflet discusses the date in an appended dissertation 'de Annis Dagoberti', p. 392. The

and a number of later chroniclers. Unless, therefore, Bede made a bad chronological mistake, which is unlikely, it is plain that the year given in most of his manuscripts is erroneous and that the reading 677 is the correct one. Reckoning that year from the Indiction of September 1, his date included almost the whole of the time during which the comet was visible. It was also the year in the course of which the eighth year of Egfrid began, though this did not in fact begin until the following February. We must remember that if Bede wrote *anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXXVII, qui est annus imperii regis Ecgfridi VIII*, he was bound to be inexact in one of his numerals, unless the king chanced to come to the throne on the first day of the year. Bede, I take it, described the comet on the basis of the Liber Pontificalis and prefixed the *annus Domini* according to his mode of reckoning the year, from September to September; having then supplied the year as 677, he not unnaturally equated it with the eighth year of Egfrid. If this explanation be rejected, the alternative is to suppose that Bede's information was incorrect and that he really understood the comet to have been seen in the autumn of 677 instead of 676.

4. Mr Plummer proceeds: 'In c. 17 Bede says that the Council of Hatfield, which was held September 17, 680, was in the tenth year of Egfrid; but September 680 is in the eleventh year from February 670.' Now the Acts of this Council, set out by Bede, have an extremely precise date: in the 10th year of Egfrid, the 15th of the calends of October, in the 8th Indiction, the 6th year of Ethelred king of the Mercians, the 17th of Aldwulf king of the East Anglians, and the 7th of Lothair king of the Kentishmen. Bede has not here inserted the year of the Incarnation, but in the summary (v 24) he places the Council under 680. The 8th Indiction, however, ran from September 679-680, and if the Greek Indiction was used the Council was held in 679. Mr Plummer says¹ that 680 'agrees best with the regnal years of the kings mentioned'. These years must therefore be examined. Now 679 is in the 10th year from the date assigned by Bede to the accession of Egfrid; it is in the 7th year of Lothair, whose accession in the summer of 673² is not disputed. The date when Aldwulf came to the throne is inferred only from the regnal year in the document which we are discussing. The 6th year of Ethelred of Mercia calls for closer enquiry.

There is no doubt that Bede in his summary (v 24) enters the death of Wulfhere and the accession of Ethelred under 675, that is, as I have

Treves manuscript passed in turn to the College of Clermont, to the libraries of Meerman and of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and ultimately to Berlin, where it is now Cod. Phillipp. 133.

¹ Vol. ii 231.

² H. E. iv 5.

argued, in the year beginning in September 674. If those events took place near the beginning of that period, then a Council held on September 17, 679, might fall with Ethelred's sixth year. It has been attempted to fix the year 675 as that of the death of Wulfhere by citing the statement that he reigned seventeen years¹ and presuming that these years are reckoned from 658. But this date is only obtained by inference from another which is not secure. *Completis autem tribus annis post interfectionem Penda regis* Wulfhere was raised to the throne.² But when was Penda killed? The battle of the Winwaed was fought on November 15 in the 13th year of Oswy. We have then to find out when Oswy became king. Bede says that Bishop Paulinus died on October 10, 644, in Oswy's 2nd year.³ This date, according to the mode of computation which we have seen established in other examples, means October 643. Hence Oswy became king in 642 or towards the end of 641,⁴ and the battle of the Winwaed in his 13th year was fought in November 654. Three years afterwards, that is in 657, Wulfhere was made king; and seventeen years later, in 674, he died and was succeeded by Ethelred. Ethelred's sixth year therefore ran from 679 to 680.

If it be objected that the year in which I place the death of Bishop Paulinus disagrees with the recorded length of his pontificate, *x et viiii annos, menses duos, dies xxi*, where it is admitted that, since Paulinus was consecrated on Sunday July 21, 625,⁵ the days should be xx, I reply that there is no more violence in subtracting one from the years than in adding one to the days: the information which Bede received was inexact, and a number like *uiiii*, when the *i* was not dotted, was constantly liable to be miswritten.

5. 'Again,' says Mr Plummer, 'in c. 26 Bede says that Egfrid was slain in May 685, in the fifteenth year of his reign; but if he came to the throne in February 670, this would be his sixteenth year.' This is perfectly true. Egfrid died on May 20,⁶ 685, which, as the Ulster Annals correctly state, was a Saturday. But the Ulster Annals also record the date as *anno xu regni sui consummata* [sic], which may mean a short time after the completion of his fifteenth year. Either then Bede was for once in error, or, as I would rather believe, *xu* is a slip in transcription for *xui*.

6. 'Further, in iii 14, *ad init.*, Bede says that Oswy, coming to the

¹ *H. E.* iii 24 *sub fin.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* iii 14.

⁴ The acceptance of this date removes the difficulty which Mr Plummer noted as to the death of Paulinus (vol. ii 162) that it 'falls in Oswy's third year'.

⁵ *H. E.* ii 9.

⁶ Mr Plummer in his margin, i 267, like Moberly before him, has inadvertently translated *die xiii Kalendarum Iuniarum*, 'May 21'.

throne in August 642, held it *per annos uiginti octo*. But if he died in February 670 he only reigned twenty-seven years and a half.' In order to arrive at the date of Oswy's accession we have again to go back to the death of Edwin, which Bede places on October 12, 633,¹ that is 632. His successor Oswald reigned nine years, i. e. until 641, when he was slain at the battle of Maserfield on August 5; so that Bede's words *quo completo annorum curriculo*² are not quite exact. Now we have seen already that October 10, 643, was reckoned to fall in Oswy's 2nd year; it must therefore be presumed that in the confusion following the defeat at Maserfield some time elapsed before Oswy was able to secure the throne, and his accession may be dated soon after November 15, 641. This would make the reckoning of his twenty-eight years of reign correct.

Mr Plummer concludes his careful statement of the evidence by saying, 'All these independent indications seem to shew that . . . Bede or his copyists have written 670 for 671; and that Oswy's death and Egfrid's accession ought to be placed in 671.'³ To me, on the contrary, the dates supplied by the Indictions and by the comet of 676 appear decisive in favour of the date as it stands. In support of this I may turn to the chronology of Benedict Biscop in connexion with the history of the two monasteries about which Bede was specially well informed. Wearmouth was founded in the 2nd Indiction and the 4th year of Egfrid, between September 673 and February 674; Jarrow was founded eight years later. The anonymous author of the *Lives of the Abbots*, whose statement is followed by Bede, says that Benedict ruled Wearmouth for eight years by himself and Jarrow for another eight (*alios totidem*) by the means of Ceolfrid; in the first four of which he had Eosterwine as his helper at Wearmouth, in the next three Sigfrid, and in the last Ceolfrid.⁴ Bede adds the figures together and says that Benedict ruled the monastery for sixteen years. But it is manifest that we have to do with round numbers; for Eosterwine died on March 7, Sigfrid on August 22, and Benedict on January 12. The one precise and indisputable date in this course of years is furnished by the appointment of Ceolfrid as abbot of both monasteries on May 13 in the 3rd year of Aldfrid in the 15th Indiction.⁵ Whatever form of Indiction we adopt, this can only mean A.D. 688. Sigfrid's death followed on

¹ *H. E.* ii 20.

² *Ibid.* iii 9.

³ Mr Plummer cites in confirmation the brief Annals of Fulda printed in the *Monum. Germ. Hist. Script.* ii 237 and iii 116*. These are not really helpful. The one, which dates Egfrid's accession 671, places the eclipse of 1 May 664 under 663 and makes St Colman die in 664 instead of 666. The other is printed in parallel columns with a St Emmeram MS at Munich which makes Egfrid succeed in 670.

⁴ Anon. Hist. Abbat. § 18, in *Pedæ Opp. Hist.* i 394; Bede Hist. Abbat. § 14, *ibid.* p. 379.

⁵ Anon. Hist. Abbat. § 17.

August 22, and Benedict's on January 12, that is, in 689. Reckoning therefore from the autumn or winter of 673-674, the first eight years end in 681-682. Then Eosterwine was appointed, and he died on March 7 in his fourth year,¹ that is, in 685. Sigfrid, who succeeded, held the abbacy for three years (in fact, nearly three years and a half), dying in August 688. The last year is necessarily a short one, ending in January 689. Mr Plummer, on the contrary, calculating a full sixteen years from the foundation of Wearmouth, which he places in 674, inclines to remove Benedict's death to 690 and make Ceolfrid's appointment, regardless of the Indiction, fall in 689.² This, he points out, is supported by the statement of the anonymous biographer that Ceolfrid ruled the two houses for 27 years,³ for he certainly resigned on June 4, 716. But this number is a manifest slip, which Bede, with the text before him, silently corrected into 28.⁴ With the exception of this single number there is no discrepancy between the chronology of the two Lives, and Benedict's death may be fixed without hesitation in January 689.

It has been thought that light might be thrown on the supposed difficulty by examining the liturgical rites which were performed at the time of Benedict's death. Mention is made of the recitation of Psalm lxxxii (lxxxiii). Mr Plummer writes, 'In the Roman use the Psalm *Deus quis similis* occurs at matins on Friday; in the Benedictine use, which would be that of Wearmouth, it occurs at matins on Thursday. January 12 was not a Thursday or a Friday in either 689 or 690, though it was a Thursday in 691.'⁵ I do not think this argument can be pressed. Bede tells us that when Benedict was dying the brethren assembled in the church and spent the night in devotion: *insomnes orationibus et psalmis transigunt umbras noctis*. Then after mentioning the abbot's death, he resumes: *Namque fratres ad ecclesiam principio noctis concurrentes, psalterium ex ordine decantantes, ad octogesimum tunc et secundum cantando pervenerant psalmum, qui habet in capite, Deus quis similis erit tibi?* The monks, it would appear, had been engaged in the recitation of the entire Psalter and had reached Psalm lxxxii when Benedict died. In like manner, when St Wilfrid was dying, the brethren *in choro die noctuque indesinenter Psalmos canentes et cum fletu miscentes usque dum in Psalmo centesimo tertio ad versiculum illum pervenerunt in quo dicitur, Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabuntur, et renovabis faciem terrae. Tunc sanctus pontifex noster emisit spiritum suum*.⁶ The practice of such a recitation at a deathbed is found in Archbishop Lanfranc's constitutions for Canterbury.⁷ These constitutions were

¹ Anon. Hist. Abbat. § 13.

² Vol. ii 364.

³ Anon. Hist. Abbat. § 19.

⁴ Bede Hist. Abbat. § 15.

⁵ Vol. ii 364.

⁶ Vit. Wilfridi 64.

⁷ Cap. xxiii, in Migne P.L. cl 508 ff.

indeed of foreign origin, having been introduced from Bec¹; but in this particular they seem to represent a long current monastic custom, of which Bede and Eddius give examples in the passages quoted above.

II

The comet of the autumn of 676 enables us to fix the time when Wilfrid left England to prosecute his first appeal to Rome. Bede² says that he departed in the same year, that is, in the twelvemonth following September 676. According to Eddius³ the battle of the Trent was fought just a year afterwards; and this was in the 9th year of King Egfrid, who began to reign in February 670 and whose 9th year therefore ran from February 678 to February 679. Consequently Wilfrid went abroad between February and September 677. He spent the winter in the Netherlands, and in the following spring resumed his journey. But he was wont to be a leisurely traveller. On the present occasion he stopped for a time with the Austrasian king Dagobert II, whom he had assisted some years before to recover his throne; and he was also entertained by the Lombard king Perctarit,⁴ who had himself spent a period of exile in Frankland.⁵ He reached Rome to find a new Pope, Agatho, in office, and an English envoy present with letters from Archbishop Theodore. A synod was then convened, and Wilfrid's appeal was heard. Eddius sets out the parts of the proceedings which concerned this business,⁶ but he gives no dates. Only in a different connexion he mentions that Wilfrid took part in a Roman synod against the heretics, manifestly the Monothelites, on Tuesday in Easter week.⁷ He made, indeed, a long stay at Rome after his appeal was settled,⁸ and then returned homeward. When he passed through Gaul he found that King Dagobert was dead, and Dagobert was murdered on December 23, 679.⁹ We thus get the outside limits of Wilfrid's peregrination from about the middle of 677 to 680. In order to arrange the events within these limits it is necessary to inquire into the antecedents of the Sixth General Council held at Constantinople in November 680.

1. As early as August 12, 678, the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus

¹ See J. Armitage Robinson, in the *Journal of Theological Studies* x (1909) 375-388.

² *H. E.* iv 12.

³ *V. Wilfr.* 24. It is not impossible, however, that Pagi is right in understanding Eddius to mean merely the same day of the year, not necessarily in the next year: *Crit. in Baronii Ann.* xi 610 b.

⁴ Eddius 28.

⁵ Paul. Diac. *Hist. Langob.* v 2, 33.

⁶ *V. Wilfr.* 29-32.

⁷ c. 53.

⁸ 'Transactis ibi multis diebus', c. 33.

⁹ See the texts cited by M. L. Levillain 'La Succession d'Austrasie au VII^e siècle', in the *Revue Historique* cxii (1913) 86 note 6.

had addressed a letter to Pope Donus asking him to send representatives.¹ But Donus was then already dead, and his successor Agatho had been elected in June. The new pope, it seems, at once exerted himself to procure official declarations of adhesion to the Catholic faith. To England he sent John, the archchanter of St Peter's, who was instructed to ascertain the opinion of the English Church and to report it to Rome. John therefore attended the synod of Hatfield, which is expressly said to have been called for this purpose, and took his report with him abroad; but he died on the way in Gaul, and the Acts of the synod² were taken on to Rome by other hands. It necessarily follows that the synod of Hatfield was held on September 17, 679, not 680. I have already contended for the earlier year simply from an examination of the chronological data presented by the Acts as recorded by Bede.³ The course of events indicated by it appears to me to place the conclusion beyond doubt; for it would be manifestly absurd to assemble a synod in England in the middle of September with a view to its resolutions being reported to Rome and then sent on to Constantinople for presentation at a Council in the following November. The Roman envoys were already at Constantinople a week before the day when (on this assumption) the Hatfield synod met.⁴

Nevertheless, almost all modern writers, with the exception of Baronius,⁵ agree in placing that synod on September 17, 680. The alteration was made by Pagi on the ground that Pope Agatho's bull for Peterborough was confirmed by King Ethelred in a document which bears the subscriptions both of Wilfrid and of John *Romanus legatus*,⁶ and was presented at the synod of Hatfield; Wilfrid could not have been back in England until 680, and as John was present at Hatfield the synod must have been in that year. Pagi saw that the document was open to suspicion, but believed it had a genuine basis.⁷ But apart from the fact that Wilfrid certainly did not return to England until 681, the document is so glaring a forgery that we need not further consider it. It is in fact an improved version of one of a series of entries which were inserted in the Peterborough text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, including the forged charters of King Wulfhere and Popes Vitalian and Agatho. The first and third of these are stated in that text to have been found in the old wall at Peterborough in 963, and

¹ Mansi *Concil.* xi 195 ff.

² 'Exemplum catholicae fidei Anglorum', Bede *H. E.* iv 18.

³ Above, pp. 29 f.

⁴ See the Emperor's sacra of September 10, 680, in Mansi xi 202 1.

⁵ *Ann.* xi 623 ff.

⁶ Haddan and Stubbs, iii 156.

⁷ *Critica in Baronii Ann.* xi 623-625.

the manuscript in which they appear was not written until the twelfth century. But although the foundation of Pagi's argument has been unanimously rejected by scholars, his date has been upheld on the supposition that the Indiction is reckoned not in the old way from September 1, but from September 24. Until, however, any evidence is produced to shew that the latter form of Indiction was used before Bede's time, I must maintain that the Greek Indiction of September 1 is here used.

2. The opinion, then, of the English Church having been declared on September 17, 679, it was transmitted, as we have seen, to Rome; and there, as Eddius tells us,¹ Wilfrid subscribed a declaration of faith together with a hundred and twenty-five bishops on Tuesday in Easter week, plainly March 27, 680, in preparation for the great Council of the following November. The letter which bears these subscriptions is included in the Acts of the Council, and for reasons which will appear later it is desirable to quote the names at length. It is evident, though the fact has not, I think, been observed, that the subscriptions were written in five columns. Such an arrangement, though not common, may be found in Anglo-Saxon charters which unquestionably derived their forms from Italian models. In the Roman letter the first, second, and fourth columns are headed by bishops of Roman sees; the third by the bishop of Milan and his suffragans; and the fifth is reserved for the bishop of Ravenna and his suffragans. The bishops are ordered regularly under provinces, and only in two instances (Crescens of Vivonia and Mauricius of Tibur) have names been inserted altogether out of place. But no provinces are named in the cases of the sees immediately dependent upon Rome, Milan, and Ravenna, and it is not easy to explain why the province of Tuscia is uniformly mentioned in column 4, though it is omitted after the names occupying the lower part of column 3. The list is of remarkable interest as furnishing a Directory, not very far from complete, of the Italian bishoprics in 680, and as giving a large number of names otherwise unknown.²

¹ *V. Wilfr.* 53.

² I print the list from Mansi xi 298-315. The subscriptions are given both in Greek and Latin. I have followed the Latin, occasionally emending, in square brackets, from the Greek. I omit the word *episcopus* and the formulae connected with it throughout, and I abbreviate in other ways.

[I]

- Agatho episcopus sanctae Dei
catholicae atque apostolicae eccle-
siae urbis Romae
Andreas s. Ostiensis eccl.
Agnellus s. eccl. Tarracinensis pro-
vinciae Campaniae
Agnellus s. Fundanae eccl. prov.
Camp.
5 Adeodatus s. Formianae¹ eccl. prov.
Camp.
Petrus s. Cumanae eccl. prov. Camp.
Agnellus s. eccl. Misenatis prov.
Camp.
Gaudiosus s. Puteolanae eccl. prov.
Camp.
Stephanus s. Locrensis eccl. [prov.
Calabriae²]
10 Agnellus s. Neapolitanae eccl. prov.
Camp.
Aureli[an]us s. Nolanae eccl. prov.
Camp.
Barbatus s. Beneventanae eccl. prov.
Camp.
Decorosus s. eccl. Capuanae prov.
Camp.
Iulianus s. Consentinae eccl. prov.
Brutiorum
15 Ioannes s. Hydruntinae eccl. prov.
Brut.³
Germanus s. Tarentinae eccl. prov.
Calabriae
Theophanes s. Thurinae eccl. prov.
Calabriae
Petrus s. Crotonensis eccl. prov.
Brutiorum
Paulus s. Scylletensis eccl. prov.
Brut.
20 Georgius s. Taurianae eccl. prov.
Calabr.
Theodorus s. Tropejanae eccl. prov.
Calabr.
Abundantius Tempsanae eccl. prov.
Brut.
Hyacinthus s. Surrentinae eccl. prov.
Camp.
Placentius s. Veliternensis eccl. prov.
Camp.

[II]

- 25 Iuvenalis s. Albanensis eccl.
Vitus s. eccl. Silvae candidae
Paulus s. Nomentanae eccl.
Ioannes s. eccl. Portuensis
Stephanus s. Praenestinae eccl.
30 Felix s. Spoleтанаe eccl.
Honestus s. Esinatis⁴ eccl.
Felix s. Camerinae eccl.
Florus s. Fulginatis eccl.
Decentius s. Foroflaminensis eccl.
35 Ioannes s. Nursinae eccl.
Felix s. eccl. Asculanensis
Hadrianus s. Reatinae eccl.
Florus s. Furconiensis eccl.
Clarentius s. eccl. Balnensis
40 Crescens⁵ s. eccl. Vibonensis [prov.
Calabr.]
Theodosius s. eccl. Syracusanae prov.
Sicil.
Benedictus s. eccl. Messanensis prov.
Sic.
Ioannes s. eccl. Thermitanae prov.
Sic.
Ioannes s. eccl. Mylanae prov. Sic.
45 Petrus s. eccl. Tauromenitanae prov.
Sic.
Iulianus s. eccl. Catanensis prov. Sic.
Georgius s. eccl. Trioclitanae prov. Sic.
Georgius s. Agrigentinae eccl. prov.
Sic.
Adeodatus s. eccl. Leucorum legatus
venerabilis synodi per Galliarum
provincias constitutae
50 Wilfridus s. eccl. Eboracenaе insulae
Britanniae legatus venerabilis synodi
per Britanniam constitutae
Mauricius s. Tiburtinae eccl.
Felix Arelatensis eccl. legatus venera-
bilis synodi per Galliarum provincias
constitutae
Taurinus diaconus s. eccl. Telonensis
legatus venerabilis synodi per
Galliarum provincias constitutae

¹ i. e. *Firmanae*.² For *Brutiorum*.³ For *Calabriae*.⁴ From Aesium (mod. Iesi).⁵ *Κρέσης*, Lat. *Orestes*, but *Crescis* in Cotton MS.⁶ *Vadensis* in Cotton MS.⁷ Probably a mistake for *Soranae*.⁸ For *Vicentianae*.⁹ In this and the two following sees I take the names from the Greek: the Latin has *Paduanae*, *Patavinae*, and *Altinensis*. The first probably designates not Padua but Pedena.¹⁰ Greek *Φαλάρεως*; Lat. *Salernitanae* vel *Sarnensis*.¹¹ v. l. *Caessenatis*; Greek *Σαρσινάτης*. The see is Sarsina.¹² Greek *Βυκοβερτίτης*, that is, Ferraria.

[III]

- Mansuetus s. Mediolanensis eccl.
 55 Ioannes s. eccl. Bergomatis
 Donatus s. eccl. Laudensis
 Anastasius s. eccl. Ticinensis
 Valentinus s. eccl. Aquensis
 Desiderius s. eccl. Cremonensis
 60 Gratianus s. eccl. Novariensis
 Desiderius s. eccl. Eporediensis
 Ioannes s. eccl. Genuensis
 Deusdedit s. eccl. Brixianensis
 Audacis s. eccl. Dertonensis
 65 Benenatus s. eccl. Astensis
 Benedictus s. eccl. Valvensis⁶
 Bonus s. eccl. Albiganensis
 Theodorus s. eccl. Vercellensis
 Rusticus s. eccl. Taurinatis
 70 Ioannes s. eccl. Vintimiliensis
 Severus s. eccl. Lunensis
 Eleutherius s. eccl. Lucensis
 Maurianus s. eccl. Pisanæ
 Serenus s. eccl. Populoniensis
 75 Reparatus s. eccl. Florentinae
 Valerianus s. eccl. Rosellensis
 Cyprianus s. eccl. Aretinae
 Vitalianus s. eccl. Senensis
 Marcianus s. eccl. Volaterranae
 80 Mauricius s. eccl. Suanensis
 Agnellus s. eccl. Vulsiniensis
 Theodorus s. eccl. Clusinae
 Custoditus s. eccl. [Valentinocastri]

[IV]

- Vitalianus s. eccl. Tusculanensis
 85 Mauricius s. eccl. Anagninae
 Saturninus s. eccl. Aletrinae
 Valerianus s. Rosanae⁷ eccl.
 Gaudiosus s. eccl. Signinae
 Agatho s. eccl. Aquileiensis prov. Istriae
 90 Cyriacus s. eccl. Polensis Istriae
 Aurelianus s. eccl. Parentinae prov. Istriae
 Ursinus s. eccl. Cenetensis prov. Istriae
 Andreas s. eccl. Veientanae⁸ prov. Istriae
 Gaudentius s. eccl. Tergestinae prov. Istriae
 95 Benenatus s. eccl. Opitergiensis prov. Istriae
 Ursinianus s. eccl. Patavinae⁹ prov. Istriae
 Paulus s. eccl. Altinensis prov. Istriae
 Paulus s. eccl. Ariminensis prov. Pentapolis
 Beatus s. eccl. Pisarenensis prov. Pentapolis
 100 Dominicus s. Fanensis eccl. prov. Pentapolis
 Hadrianus s. eccl. Numanatis prov. Pentapolis
 Ioannes s. eccl. Auximatis prov. Pentapolis
 Ioannes s. eccl. Anconitanae prov. Pentapolis
 Benenatus s. eccl. Perusinae prov. Tusciae
 105 Bonifacius s. eccl. Tudertinae prov. Tusciae
 Exhilaratus s. eccl. Metuarenensis prov. Tusciae
 Amator s. eccl. Bleranae prov. Tusciae
 Gratosus s. eccl. Sutrinae prov. Tusciae
 Theodorus s. eccl. Nepesinae prov. Tusciae
 110 Ioannes s. eccl. Falaritanae¹⁰ prov. Tusciae
 Theodorus s. eccl. Ameriana prov. Tusciae
 Barbatianus s. eccl. Polymartiensis prov. Tusciae
 Deusdedit s. eccl. Narniensis prov. Tusciae

[V]

- Theodorus s. eccl. Ravennatis
 115 Stephanus s. eccl. Saranatis¹¹
 Barbatus s. eccl. Corneliensis
 Victor s. eccl. Bononiensis
 Florus s. eccl. Cesenatis
 Vitalis s. eccl. Faventinae
 120 Iustinus s. eccl. Fidentinensis¹²
 Vincentius s. eccl. Livinensis
 Placentius s. eccl. Placentinae
 Mauricius s. eccl. Regiensis
 Petrus s. eccl. Mutinensis
 125 Gratosus s. eccl. Parmensis
 Magnus s. eccl. Pupilensis

3. The Acts of a Roman synod held in October 679 were printed by Sir Henry Spelman in 1639¹ from a manuscript of which no trace now remains. It is not to be found among Joscelyn's transcripts in the British Museum; nor is there any indication of it in Dr Macray's Report for the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the Gurney collection at Keswick Hall, Norfolk,² which contains fourteen volumes of Spelman's papers. We have, therefore, only Spelman's printed text to go upon, and from this it is apparent that his original was a late and blundering copy. John Johnson, who translated the *Laws and Canons of the Church of England* in 1720, truly remarked, 'Never any synod, or consistory, met with a more ignorant transcriber of its acts, than he was who wrote the copy published by Sir H. Spelman.'³ There are features in the document which raise the suspicion that it was produced, together with a number of admitted forgeries, in order to support Archbishop Lanfranc's claim to the primacy of Canterbury. On the other hand, it includes an element which I cannot but believe to be genuine in its enumeration of the bishops who attended the synod. 'The names of the Bishops,' as Haddan and Stubbs pointed out,⁴ 'with the single exception of George of Catania, are consistent with the signatures attached to the letter' which we have spoken of above. This one exception need not cause difficulty, for it can hardly be doubted⁵ that the copyist has carelessly thrown two Sicilian bishops into one, and written *Georgio Catanensi* instead of *Georgio Triocalitano, Iuliano Catanensi*, who appear side by side in the Roman letter (nos. 46, 47). The question then arises, Can Spelman's document have been forged with the help of the Roman letter? Twelve years ago, in the hope of obtaining an answer, I examined the Cottonian MS Claudius B. v fo. 30-31, which contains the Acts of the Sixth General Council. The manuscript is assigned to the tenth century, and is supposed to have come to England as a present from Otto the Great; it was long preserved at the abbey of Bath. The order of the subscriptions agrees almost entirely with that given in Mansi's edition of the Councils. Now it appeared to me incredible that a forger should have selected eighteen names⁶ (I assume the one emendation suggested

¹ *Concilia* i 158-160.

² Twelfth Report, Appendix ix (1891) 116-164.

³ p. 100, note *d*, in the edition by John Baron, 1850. The Latin text has been amended by a succession of editors, whose corrections have been silently accepted by Haddan and Stubbs.

⁴ *Councils* iii 135 note *b*.

⁵ This suggestion is due to Dr Levison.

⁶ It will be noticed that eleven of the eighteen held sees in the vicinity of Rome. One came from Calabria, five from Sicily, and one (who, Eddius tells us, c. 28, accompanied Wilfrid) from Toul, 'ecclesia Leucorum'. Dr Levison thinks that the

a above) out of this list and arranged them in the following order: nos. 40, 2, 25, 51, 110, 42, 41, 112, 27, 28, 109, 26, 88, 48, 24, 46, 47, and 49. I inferred, therefore, that Spelman's document in its opening paragraph was derived from an independent and genuine source. The acceptance of this paragraph may reasonably be held to include the protocol which gives the date in full. Unluckily the dates it records are mutually incompatible, and we have to adopt the least violent correction of them that we can find. If we accept the Imperial year as correct and emend the Indiction VII into VIII, we obtain the date October 679, which is on all grounds the probable one. The Post-Consular date (x for xi) and the years of the Imperial colleagues (xxii for xxi) must be neglected. But when I had satisfied myself that Spelman's document contained a genuine beginning, I found myself unable to reconcile this with the manifest fabrication which appears in the course of the text.

The solution of the problem has since been satisfactorily accomplished by Dr Wilhelm Levison, of Bonn, in a paper on *Die Akten der Römischen Synode von 679* which appeared in 1912.¹ By an acute analysis of the text he showed that only the last part of the document, beginning with the eighth clause,² is an unmistakeable product of the factory from which Lanfranc's evidence for the primacy of Canterbury issued. The earlier part may be most of it genuine—Dr Levison goes further on this side than I should myself be disposed to go—but, what is of chief importance for my present purpose, he appears to me to have proved that the initial protocol is in truth the opening of the genuine Acts of the synod from which Eddius excerpted the clauses which dealt with Wilfrid's appeal. Eddius, as has been mentioned above, says that the synod which heard Wilfrid was attended by more than fifty bishops and priests and was held at the Lateran:³ our document gives the same place, and the number as fifty-three.⁴ The first speech of Pope Agatho begins both in Eddius and in Spelman's text in the same terms, though the composer of the latter has interpolated some words in it from Bede and has altered the end of it. I suspect he has played more tricks with the document than Dr Levison will allow; but I am persuaded that we have here the genuine framework of the instrument of which Eddius supplies

order in Spelman's document is that of the bishops' seniority in consecration, and this is favoured by the prominent place taken in the proceedings by the bishop of Vivonia, whose name stands first in the enumeration.

¹ *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* xxxiii (Kanonistische Abteilung ii) 249-282.

² In Haddan and Stubbs, iii 133 middle. Dr Levison, contrary to the accepted usage, includes the protocol in his numbering of the clauses.

³ Cap. 29.

⁴ This is assuming the one emendation proposed above.

some of the contents, and that the two Councils distinguished by Haddan and Stubbs as the one 'in the cause of the English Church [irrespective of Wilfrid, although after he had reached Rome]',¹ and the other 'to decide upon Wilfrid's appeal',² are really parts of a single council, though the former can only be accepted with a liberal use of the obelus. We can assign it to the definite date of October 679, and we have the list of bishops and priests who were actually present.

REGINALD L. POOLE.

AN UNRECORDED READING OF THE LEICESTER CODEX.

IN a recent visit to Leicester I availed myself of an opportunity to inspect the Leicester Codex (69). And among other passages I turned to Rev. ii 13. The reader will be helped if, for the present purpose, he consults this JOURNAL for April 1904, in which Dr M. R. James, in his valuable article on 'The Scribe of the Leicester Codex', furnishes a facsimile of the writing of Emmanuel of Constantinople, whom Dr James, in my humble opinion, rightly identifies with the scribe of 69. The recumbent *epsilon* of the Leicester MS is characteristically represented by the Greek writing in Dr James's facsimile. The *epsilon* is written lying on its back and is like our own cursive *u*. It may easily be distinguished from *alpha*, which is written like our cursive *a*. *Alpha*, so far as I examined 69, in practically every case, is completely formed.

I was somewhat surprised to find that, while Tregelles and other collators had left notes in the margin about the second syllable of *avrtas*, Rev. ii 13, no one had observed what, to my eyes, is the indisputable reading in the final syllable, namely *epsilon* and not *alpha*. Mr Payne, of the Town Clerk's office, kindly allowed me to use the MS in his room. Distrusting my own unsupported eyesight, I was glad to find that he agreed with me as to the entire difference of the letter in question from any occurrence of *alpha* in the context, and in the entire resemblance of the *epsilon*—as I will now call it—to the other occurrences of that letter.

Persons who have used the MS have frequently been guilty of writing over the text and making notes either in the text or in the margin. And I think the second syllable of *avrtas* has been tampered with. But there is absolutely no trace of interference with the third syllable.

¹ Vol. iii 131.

² Vol. iii 136.

Hence we must take the MS as giving the reading *αντιπες* or *αντειπες*. In view of the undoubted reading of the final syllable, we may rule out the first alternative *αντιπες*. We have, therefore, in 69 a supporter of the reading *αντειπας*, which W. H. in their 'Notes on Select Readings' describe merely as a 'curious itacism'. The resemblance of *αντειπας* to the proper name is a sufficient indication of the manner in which the other variants probably grew up. Any way *αντειπας* (I assume the earlier form to have occurred in the earliest MSS) was read by the scribe of 69 as a verb, and here he followed the precedent of several Eastern Versions. 69 therefore gives us: *και ουκ ηρησω την πιστιν εν ταις ημεραις αις αντειπες*. What followed? A fifteenth-century MS of Revelation, 2302 (Greg.), contains the important variant *οτι πας μαρτυς πιστος κατοικει* instead of *ος απεκτανθη—σατανas* (I quote from Greg. *Textkritik des NT*. 1207). The same MS also, like 69, omits the *και* before *εν ταις ημεραις*. Our results may now be summed up in the provisional reading: *και ουκ ηρησω την πιστιν εν ταις ημεραις αις αντειπας [οπου ο σατανas κατοικει]*. I bracket the last passage as doubtful, and omit *ο μαρτυς μου ο πιστος μου* as a gloss inserted to explain *αντιπας* when it was understood as a proper name.

An important contribution to the history of the passage is furnished by a Sahidic MS of the twelfth century edited by Dr Budge.¹ 'The Coptic', he says, 'does not mention Antipas and reads: "Thou hast kept hold upon my name, thou hast not denied my faith, and thou didst stand firm in the days in which my faithful martyr was put to death among you; the place in which the throne of Satan is set up."' 'Thou didst stand firm' corresponds to *αντειπας*, so that we may add the Sahidic to the Bohairic as supporting the verb. And this brings us to the meaning of *αντειπας*. In popular use 'contradiction' passed over into the stronger meaning of 'opposition in act'.² The Coptic version, therefore, is evidence not only for the reading *αντειπας* but for the meaning of the verb.

Why did the scribe of the Leicester Codex write *αντειπες* rather than *αντειπας*? Probably he himself would not have regarded the variation as needing explanation. According to Jannaris,³ *ειπας* is the regular form in post-classical and Byzantine Greek, whereas *ειπες* is the regular form in post-Byzantine Greek, and Emmanuel would naturally use the latter. *ειπες* is found with the best of attestation in two places only in the gospels, Mark xii 32 and John iv 17. It seems probable that the form *ειπες* here is rather a relic of earlier grammatical usage, than a vernacular use contemporary with the scribes of *Σ* or *D*.

Only after a minute examination of the evidence, may we allow

¹ *Coptic Biblical Texts*, lxxv.

² *Vocabulary of Greek Testament*, s.v. *ἀντιλογία*.

³ *Hist. Greek Grammar*, p. 261.

literary considerations to come into play. In the first place, 'Thou didst not deny and thou didst resist' illustrates the combination of a statement of fact with the denial or its contradictory which is especially characteristic of the 'Johannine' gospel and epistle.¹ Not only so: the reading before us is anticipated in its style by a previous passage in the same chapter: 'Thou hast patience and hast not grown weary.' In admitting this affinity of style, we do not bind ourselves to identifying the author of the Revelation with the author of the 'Johannine' writings.

Lastly, we can trace the historical conditions which gave rise to the corruption. The evidence of the versions shews that the verb *arēitas* was currently read at least as late as the beginning of the third century. Before that time martyrdom was not a frequent occurrence in the Christian Church.² The persecutions which raged from about A. D. 250 onwards, and the consequent interest in those passages in the scriptures which bore upon martyrdom, may perhaps explain how the apparent name Antipas was seized upon and glossed. Fortunately we are still able to recover what, I venture to suggest, is the primitive text.³

FRANK GRANGER.

MACARIUS OF EGYPT: HIS EPISTLE *AD FILIOS DEI* IN SYRIAC.

It is unfortunate for the elucidation of the mysterious problems connected with the name of Macarius of Egypt that the only literary production, which competent scholars unanimously ascribe to him—the *Epistola Sancti Macarii ad filios Dei*—is preserved only in a Latin translation.⁴ It has long been my desire to discover the Greek original, in order to possess an indubitable criterion of style, by which other works professing to come from the same author might be tested. I have not succeeded in this search, but have found the letter in a Syriac version. The Syriac, like the Latin, is a translation from the Greek.⁵ It is, however, of value in so much as it enables us to correct

¹ *Expositor*, May 1916, p. 358.

² Origen, *c. Celsum*, iii, p. 116 (Spencer).

³ It is worth consideration whether the reading of Ν* in Mt. xiii 54, *αὐτὸς παρῖθα* for *παρῖθα*, is to be explained by comparison with the passage which we have been studying.

⁴ Migne *P. G.* t. xxxiv coll. 405-410.

⁵ See Add. Or. in Brit. Mus. 14,612 fol. 168 [Wright DCCLIII. 29] ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܝܐ

the faulty Latin in several places. The manuscript used¹ is Add. Or. 18,814 fol. 187 a, and contains in all twelve letters of this saint.

i. The first difficulty in the Latin text occurs on col. 407 a 'sed et escarum varie delectationes'. It is grammatically unconnected. The Syriac, however, restores the grammar, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ. The following passage also in the Latin, after 'que emolliri faciunt cor' and down to 'cogitationibus suis', is erroneous. Read according to the Syriac 'which make the heart weak, so that it cannot accomplish even the slightest fast. For these enemies set before his eyes the weakness of his body, the length of the time and the thought (How long . . .)'. It is an indication of the Latin translator's unacquaintance with the spirit of early Egyptian monachism that he substitutes the psychological (*cogitationes*) for the diabolical (ܩܪܝܬܐ).

ii. Another grammatical anacoluthon occurs, col. 407 c, of Migne. The protasis 'Si autem benignus Deus perspexerit . . .' is left hanging as it were in the air. The Syriac restores the missing apodosis, 'then also God helps him and saves him'.²

iii. Ib. *Adversarios* should be *Adversarii*.

iv. Col. 407 d *subiungentes*. The nominative absolute is awkward. The reference is still to the enemies. Syriac ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ.

v. Col. 408 a. The Latin runs 'misericors Deus mittit illi virtutem suam . . . ut fortior inimicis inveniatur . . . *timentibusque praestat virtutem*'. The weakness and poverty of the clause underlined is obvious, especially when 'mittit illi virtutem' has just preceded. The Syriac, however, reads ܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ . . . ܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ. No doubt can be entertained that the Syriac is right in referring the fear not to the reverence of the faithful, but to the terror of the Powers of Evil.

vi. Ib. 'contendite et accipietis virtutem'. Unfortunately the Syriac throws no light on this saying attributed to St Paul, but not to be found in his extant works. It reads ܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ. The divergence in translations may be explained by supposing that the Syriac translator had before him αἰτήσασθε Κύριον καὶ δύναμιν λήψασθε, while the Latin read ἀγωνίσασθε καὶ δύναμιν λήψετε. Haplography would explain the omission of πν before καί.

vii. Col. 408 'sine gubernaculo'. The illustration of the rudder-less

¹ See Wright *Catàlogue of Syriac Manuscripts* . . . pt. 2 DCCXCVII. 6.

² 'It is given to him to vanquish also the delight of foods.'

³ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ.

⁴ 'While they inject.'

⁵ God the Merciful sends him sacred strength . . . that he may be stronger than his enemies . . . who are afraid of the power which dwelleth in him,

⁶ Entreat ye our Lord and receive thou power.

ship, which is driven this way and that, has doubtless often puzzled readers of Macarius in Latin. For a ship without a rudder is not driven 'huc illuc'; it drifts. Turning to the Syriac, we find in place of 'sine gubernaculo' the words 'ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ'. The Syrian has faithfully rendered the Greek *πóδες*. Macarius's illustration is that of a ship without sheets, which is driven with the wind for a time, then tacks now in one oblique direction and now in another, and then again is carried with the wind. Having no sail-ropes, it is at the mercy of the winds and may truly be said to be driven 'ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ'.

viii. Col. 408 c 'Incipiet illi spiritus sanctus revelare occulta.' Add here with the Syriac 'how it is meet to sing psalms'.³ The originality of this reference to psalm-singing as an inspired art is confirmed by the importance given to it by the early ascetics, as Palladius's history and other *Paradisi Patrum* shew.

We are thus a little nearer than before to the mind of this great and fascinating personage—Macarius of Egypt.

G. L. MARRIOTT.

A NEW VULGATE MS OF ACTS.

THE following collation is of the *Acts* as given in a Vulgate Codex in my possession. It is a good-sized folio volume, of parchment, written in double columns in a hand of c. 1300, 57 or 58 lines to column. It contains no notes to shew its provenance. Some one has written his name Richard Greby or Grete on the margin of 2 Corinthians ch. 10, in a seventeenth-century hand. Many scholia are added in the margin upon Genesis and Exodus. An index of names in a twelfth-century hand concludes the volume, which is well written with beautifully executed initials and marginal scrolls. The first leaf of almost every book has been cut out for the sake of the decorations, and many initials have been rudely removed with a knife.

In *Acts* the text contains many 'Western additions', and all verses are added which Wordsworth and White exclude from the text of Jerome, but which ordinary Vulgate texts contain. It is with Wordsworth's text that I collate it, and from his critical apparatus that I occasionally add references to MSS etc., in every case within brackets. This codex is remarkable for the enormous number of passages rewritten,

¹ 'To which there are no feet.'

² 'Hither and thither.'

³ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ

often in a cramped later hand, over rasurae of what the first hand wrote, e. g. Luke vi 2-5; vii 38, 39; xx 46, 47; xxii 8-10; and these rasurae are everywhere too thorough for the original text to be deciphered.

Collation of *Acts*.

I

- vv. 1-13 as far as *ascenderunt* missing through mutilation
 v. 14 omnes erant] sup lit m sec
 19 omnibus tr post *Ierusalem*
 20 eorum] eius (Iren Aug)
 25 ante *locum* add *per* ut uid, del vult sec m

II

- 6 linguam suam
 9 ante *Cappadociam* add *Iudaeam* sec vice
 12 tr dicentes ad invicem (demid)
 14 elevavit
 17 de spiritu meo sup lit man sec (? spiritum meum)
 18 ante ancillas om *super* (B C F K M R W gig)
 29 def. et sepultus est
 38 Petrus vero ait ad illos sup lit m sec (D d p Iren)
 39 ante repromissio add haec (d gig p Lucif Aug)
 45 post substantias add eorum sup lit

III

- 9 vidit eum omnis pop. amb. (C R T e gig Lucif)
 20 cum et om ut (ut cum ex confla codd hieronymiani paene omn cum restituimus ex cod c dem antiquae versionis)
 22 post omnia add dixit
 26 se add m ant ex corr

IV

- 1 post sadducaei add templi sec vice, del vult m sec
 8 post seniores add Israel (Θ d e gig h p*)
 14 pro cum eis habet coram eis
 15 secedere] sedere pr m add ce sup vs m ant (F)
 20 tr audiuius et uidimus
 22 erat hoc signum (hoc d e)
 26 ante Christum add Ihesum
 28 manus tue (G S U*)
 28 ante fieri add pmi quod vult del, suspicor primum, sed quid vere scriptum sit nescio
 31 est locus in sup lit m rc

V

- 3 post *petrus* add *ad eum* (W dem p)
 5 *autem Ananias* sup lit m rc
 5 *magnus in omnes*
 8 sic legitur : *respondit ei Petrus : dic mihi autem*, ubi *autem* post *mihi*
 del uult m rc (*autem* post *respondit* om gig cum 15, 17, 73)
 9 *ad eam dixit* (e)
 10 *Et confestim* (C O R T)
 11 *universam ecclesiam* (d e Bentl)
 14 *autem* add supra lin m rc (tr *autem magis* ☉)
 21 adveniēns] *audiens* ubi *udiens* sup lit 8 vel 9 litterarum (B F K R S T V
 lux. contra graecum)
 26 *timebant autem populum* ubi *ceteri t. enim p.*
 31 Israel] *in Israel* (S)
 32 post *dedit* om *deus*
 34 *iussit foras modicum apostolos sedere* (*modicum* D O ep; *apostolos*
 A¹ C D O T d e gig h etc. ; *secedere* C D O T gig)
 36 *ante enim hos dies* (A D M O p)
 36 *aliquem magnum* (B¹ C D G² ☉ I T d e gig)
 36 *virorum numerus*
 36 *quicumque credebant*
 36 *redactus est*
 39 *potestis* (F O S U) 39 eos] *eos sed sinite illos* (cf. D syr)
 39 *conserunt* sic (D S*); sup vs add *sen* m rc

VI

- 5 Timonem] *Thimotheum* (B F K S* v)
 8 *in populum* quod corr *in populo* m sec
 11 *verba blasphema* (S U etc)

VII

- 1 post *sacerdotum* add *Stephano* (C D ☉ T W d o g₂ gig h p t w)
 4 ord *in qua vos nunc* (d e p Hieron Aug)
 6 *quadringentis et septem* (B F S)
 13 *manifestum* add *ta* sup lin m sec (W)
 14 *cogitationem eius* (S U d add *eius*)
 16 post *Emmor* repetit *pretio argenti*
 19 *vivificarentur masculi* (D e gig cum E^{gr})
 21 *Exposito autem illo in flumine sustulit eum in flumine Pharaonis filia*
 sic (add *in fl.* D W d e)
 24 *patientem de genere suo* (d gig par. lat. 11533)
 24 *iniuriam patiebatur* (W gig)
 25 *existimabat autem intel. fr. suos quoniam* (ubi *suos* M R² T c d e p)

- 25 *per manus* (D G M W)
 27 *proximo suo* (gig et plur)
 29 *terram Madian* (D d p)
 30 *ord app. illi angelus in des. m. Sina* (W)
 31 *ord facta est vox Domini ad eum* (M W gig)
 34 *gemitum eius* (d et gr B D 26)
 35 *iudicem super nos* (c d dem e gig p etc)
 37 *post fratribus vestris* lit duarum litt. ? scr *in eum*
 39 *repulerunt eum* (C D G^e T dem gig)
 40 *huic* sic (Θ I)
 42 *Deus ab eis* (D)
 43 *vos propter hoc in Bab.* (ubi *pr. hoc* W : *in Bab.* D)
 45 *cum Iesu Nave in*
 48 *prophetam* sic (M, ubi *per prophetam* W gig)
 49 *requisitionis* quod corr m rc
 50 *incircumcisi* (D)
 51 *restitistis* (gig etc)
 55 *esset Stephanus plenus* G^o M S U W

VIII

- 1 *Apostolos qui remanserunt in Ierusalem* (d g₂ gig h t Aug cum gr D Sah)
 2 *Curaverunt] Sepeliuerunt* (D^m W)
 2 *pl. magn. super illum* sup lit m rc
 9 *magus] magnus* ex err (D V)
 11 *magicis suis artibus* (D O R Tepl)
 20 *per pecuniam* (W e* Cypr)
 21 *tr pars tibi* (W)
 33 *iudicium eius] iud. illius*
 34 *alio aliquo* sup lit m rc
 36 *quid] quis* (c dem gig Bed etc)
 37 *autem ei* (e Bed)
 37 *licet et respondens* sup lit m rc
 37 *dixit: credo Dei filium esse*, ubi *Christum* add m sec
 39 *andissent* pr m add *sce* sup lin m rc (? cp Italian *andare*)

IX

- 2 *ante Ierusalem* om *in*
 5 *Iesus Nazareus* (e ; cp *Nazarenus* Θ M S U e dem)
 5-6 *retinet verba durum . . . ad eum*
 15 *tr Dominus ad eum* (cp)
 16 *tr pati pro nom. meo*
 20 *ingressus Paulus in synagogas* (B K U R)

- 21 *perduceret illos* (e)
 24 interficerent] *comprehenderent*
 25 *muros* quod in *murum* corr m rc
 26 *temptabant* quod corr in *-bat* m rc
 26 *iungere se*: ubi *se* sup vs m pr
 27 *enarrauit* (e C (aen) I Bntl)
 29 *tr eum occidere* (gig Bntl)
 30 *eduxerunt eum nocte Caesaream* (+ nocte C D O gig)
 32 *universos dum perveniret ad* sic
 34 *tibi, qui continuo*
 40 *genua sua* G² ⊕ T
 40 post *surge* add *in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi* (D O gig m p Cypr)
 41 *ac uiduas* (gig)

X

- 7 loquebatur] *uocabatur* sic
 13 *ad eum dicens* (B² w)
 17 *missi fuerant* (c)
 30 *usque in hanc horam eram ieiunans et orans in domo*, omittens *eram hora nona* (gig praestat *eram ieiunans usque in h. d. et hora nona* omittens *orans eram*. B² D *agens ieiuniam et orans*)
 32 post *mare* add *is cum uenerit loquitur tibi* (gig similia D d Bed)
 33 *sunt tibi a* (c d gig t Bntl)
 36 *uerbum suum* (d gig)
 37 post *incipiens* om *enim* (D c gig Hil)
 37 *per baptismum* pr m quod corr m sec
 42 *ipse est constitutus a deo*, omittens *qui est* (om *est qui* gig t Iren)
 44 *adhuc illo loquente verba haec* sic (+ illo D)
 44 *super eos qui* sic
 48 *maneret ibi aliquot* (G^c O S u)

XI

- 1 post *dei* add *et honorificabunt dñm* (⊕ par. lat. 202, 11505*)
 5 ord *vidi visionem in*
 6 *caeli in eo* (p)
 9 ord *de caelo secundo* (⊕ de c. secunda)
 15 om *in ante nos*: corr m sec (O)
 17 ad fin add *ne daret illis spm̄ sanctum credentibus in dominum Ih̄m Christum* (D ⊕ O R* par. lat. 11533 d p et gr D)
 19 *usque ad* (D W)
 29 *quisque* (R c gig p Aug)

XII

- 4 *tradensque*
 6 *ord esset eum* (D R)
 13 *audiendum]* *uidendum* (B F K S U V W)
 16 *Petrus uero* (d gig)
 16 *autem aperuissent* sup lit m rc et add *hostium* (add *ostium* B K R UVc)
 17 *enarrauit* (d dem e p etc)
 17 *fratribus eius* (O)
 19 *duci ad se* (D)
 20 *persuadentes Blasto* (p)
 21 *veste regia sedit pro* sup lit m rc

XIII

- 6 *perambulassent ubi per* sup lit m rc
 11 *cecidit super eum* (d e gig Lucif)
 31 *qui* sup lit
 31 *post uisus est* add *terra* vel *tertia*
 31 *per* add supra vs m pr
 31 *nunc testes sunt testes eius* sic
 34 *vobis sancta David vobis* sic
 36 *post corruptionem* add *notum igitur sit vobis viri fratres*
 37 *quem vero de* sup lit m rc
 37 *om a mortuis*
 38 *post vobis* add *ihesum*
 42 *sibi]* *eis* (gig)
 46 *repulistis* (A M R¹ gig p w)
 46 *convertimus* pr m quod corr m sec (Tert Cypr Aug)

XIV

- 1 *ord multit. copiosa* (P R² e gig w)
 2 *ad fin* add *dominus autem dedit cito pacem* (Θ dem gig p)
 4 *multitudo illius ciuit.* (G^c)
 5 *principibus sacerdotum suis* sic
 6 *ad fin* add *et commota est omnis multitudo in doctrina eorum. Paulus autem et Barnabas commorabantur listris* (Θ S d e w Bed)
 9 *tr voce magna* (gig) et add *tibi dico in nomine domini I. Ch.* (C d e Bed cum gr C D E)
 11 *ipse est dux* sic
 13 *post ubi + uolebat sacrificare* repetens ex pr vs
 14 *hominibus* (d)
 14 *terram mare* omittens *et*
 18 *post lapid.* om *que* (O dem)

- 19 ord *discipulis cum* sic
 19 *in civitatem*
 21 *introire nos oportet regnum* (introire Ⓢ d e gig: om in W)
 23 ante *Pamphylia* om *in* (dem gig etc)
 24-25 *descenderunt* usque *et inde* n sup lit m rc (N.B. post λόγον add
 codd gr aliquot τοῦ Κυρίου, E τοῦ Θεοῦ, item post *Attalia* add
evangelizantes eos d gr D 137)

XV

- 1 *Cum iudea* sic: corr in *de* sup vs m ant
 1 *salvari*] *salvi fieri* (c d dem gig etc)
 2 *ergo*] *autem* (Ⓢ R gig p)
 2 post *illos* add *dicebat autem paulus manere eos ita ut crediderunt*
 (Ⓢ par. lat. 202 d gig cum gr D)
 3 *omnibus*] *cunctis* (G: om gig)
 7 *inquisitio magna*: corr in *conquis.* m vet
 14 *visitante* ut uid
 18 *est domino est opus* sic
 19 *ad eos deum* ubi *eos* del uult pr m
 24 *manusauimus* ubi *us* del pr m
 29 post *fornicatione* add *et ea quae uobis fieri non uultis alium ne feceritis*
 (D Ⓢ d p w³ Iren)
 31 *gausi sunt gaudio magno* (G)
 32 *confirmauerunt eos* gig
 34 add *Visum est autem Silae remanere ibi. Solus autem Iudas abiit,*
omittens ierusalem
 39 *naugauit* (D c gig)

XVI

- 2 *bonum testimonium*
 6 *uetiti* (I M U¹ dem)
 12 *prima pars Macedoniae ciuitatis* (*pars* W dem p³: *ciuitatis* M^op^{*}
 par. lat. 2)
 12 *conserentes uerbum domini* (D O)
 14 ord *a P. diceb.* (Ⓢ gig)
 15 *esset ipsa* (I M e dem)
 16 *Phytonem* (B Ⓢ S^o d)
 17 ord *sunt excelsi* (om *sunt* gig)
 36 post *ut* add *nos* (W)
 36 *cum pace* (W lux)
 37 *nos eiicite* sic

XVII

- 6 qui] *sunt qui* supra vs m pr (C D ©)
 6 orbem (cum Wordsw)
 11 haberent] + *quemadmodum paulus adnunciaret* (gig ; cf D et gr 137)
 12 et multitudo gentilium mulierum honestarum sic
 14 usque mare omittens ad (D gr)
 18 alii uero dicebant (C R T V^c W c dem gig)
 21 advenae omnes hospites ubi del uult omnes m rc
 22 superstitiosos (B F © K M U V d dem e gig p²)
 26 post eorum add dedit hominibus (D² R² par. lat. 202, 177)
 28 et creatura et genus (D par. lat. 11533 W)
 29 ante sculpturae add aut
 29 cogitationibus (D)

XVIII

- 2 post ad eos add Paulus et salutauit eos (D par. lat. 93, 11505, 16722,
 E 53 gig)
 6 vestimenta sua Paulus
 9 visionem] visum (d gig etc)
 10 tr multus mihi (G)
 21 post dicens add oportet me solempnem diem aduenientem facere iero-
 solimis et (D © M W d dem gig)
 24 genere] natione (cum Wordsworth)

XIX

- 2 dixitque usque ad credentes sup lit m pr
 5 Iesu] add Christi (© W d gig 133)
 8 in synagogam (I e d gig)
 9 sub fin add ab ora quinta usque in horam decimam (D G^o © d gig
 gr 137)
 11 non modicas deus fac. (c gig dem © et plurimi)
 13 adiuramus (D et gr H L P)
 14 pro quidam legit cuiusdam (dem)
 20 tr verbum dei fortiter crescebat (d et gr D)
 21 transire a Macedonia et Achaia et ire (C M R T c: transire D de gig)
 24 enim] autem (D gig p)
 25 quos conuocans] qui cum uocasset
 25 huiusmodi] eiusmodi
 26 sed et poene (F dem gig)
 27 periclitabatur sic
 38 se inuicem (W d)

XX

- 4 *Sosipater* (D G^c M R S U W dem gig Bed)
 7 cum eis] + *et confirmabat animas eorum* (M R² W dem gig)
 8 *lampades* sup lit (*lanterne* e gig quod puto scriptum fuisse)
 9 *sublatus oblatus est* sic (B K V W cor vat* p*: *oblatus* R²)
 14 *conuenissemus in Asson* (D ⊙ O c)
 18 post *eum* om *et* (S*)
 19 *humilitate et mansuetudine et* (cor vat* sed corr)
 20 *subtraxerim uobis* (d e gig etc)
 23 *mee manent in ierosolymis*
 24 *Domino Iesu Christo* (⊙)
 25 *meam uos* sup lit m rec
 26 omnium] + *vestrum* (U cum gr E min)
 38 *dixerat eis* (G^c)

XXI

- 1 post *pataram* add *deinde in hyram* (+ *myram* gig par. lat. 7 ⊙ etc)
 3 *nauigabamus* (C D G* ⊙ p)
 4 tr *septem diebus*
 5 *expletis autem* (*expletis* c dem gig etc)
 7 *nos ergo* (cor vat)
 10 *de iudea* (S U)
 16 post *autem* add *quidam* (D gig)
 16 ante *adducentes* add *et dicentes quod*: del uult
 16 add *secum* (C M R² T vg)
 16 *Iasonem* (dem D U gig p etc)
 20 *crediderunt in dominum* (D)
 21 *discensionem* (B R T c dem cor vat*)
 24 *His cum sumptis* sic
 26 *introiuit* (d)
 28 *ubique docet* (D c d dem gig)
 31 *autem illis eum* sic
 37 *qui dixit ei*
 39 *non ignorete* sic

XXII

- 7 sub fin add *durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare* (D cor vat* dem e gig et Bed)
 14 post *audires* repetit *uoluntatem eius*: del uult m ant
 20 *effunderetur* (d e gig)
 24 *tribunus iussit tribunus* sic
 28 post *tribunus* add *quam facile te ciuem romanum dicis* (D par. lat. 17250 Bed)
 28 *ego autem multa*

XXIII

- 3 ord *me iubes*
 6 ord *esset pars*
 8 utraque] *utrumque* (c dem p etc)
 20 ord *de illo sint*
 23 *parate mihi ducentos unos milites* sic (add *mihi* I: unde traxerit
unos nescio. An idioma sit ibericum?)
 24 *iumentum* (c)
 24 *eum saluum facient perducerent* (+ *eum* B F K R S c gig)
 25 *retinet uersum* (D gig p gr 137)
 25 *calumniam haberet quasi nummos accepisset* (gig p)
 30 ord *denuntians eum ad te*
 30 pro *apud te* monstrat *tibi*
 34 *Cecilia esset* sic

XXIV

- 3 *semper hoc* (ut uid) *utique* (utique B K)
 3 *suscepimus* (gig p etc)
 18 ad fin add *et apprehenderunt me clamantes et dicentes tolle inimicum*
nostrum (D ⊙ cor vat* c dem p³)
 19 *oportebat modo* (C T cor vat*)
 19 *esse ut accusarent siquid* (accusarent B F G R S T U V)
 24 *in dominum Christum*
 26 ord *daretur ei a Paulo*
 27 *praestare*] *pr'are* sic: simile xxv⁹. An *praestare* an (cum gig) *patrare*
 nescio

XXV

- 3 ord *eum perduc*i
 4 *seruari quidem* (C M T gig Lucif)
 5 *si quid est* (I S* p)
 6 *demoratus est autem* (R)
 6 *et descendit* (M T)
 7 *obiciētes ei* (I S U p)
 9 ord *praestare* (an *patrare* vid supra) *gratiam*
 13 *Beronice* (C G^c T dem gig)
 16 *crimina quae ei obiciuntur* (D cor vat*)
 17 *iussit* (F I R^e)
 18 om *ego* (gig)
 22 *ad Festum dixit* (+ *dixit* G^c ⊙ M dem e)
 22 post *audire* + *respondens Festus* (cp *et Festus ait* ⊙)
 22 *audies*] *audire* sic: cor m sec
 23 *Beronice*

- 24 *Agripa*
 24 *petens et clamans non*
 26 tr *agrippa rex* (om *agrippa* gig)

XXVI

- 7 *deser cum dantes uientes* sic: corr m ant
 7-8 *rex* m rc sup lit 6 fere litt, ubi scriptum erat *agrippa* seu *agripa*
 (om *rex* gig)
 13 om *eos*
 13 ord *simul mecum* (F I U W p)
 17 *populis* (c p² etc)
 17 *et degentibus* (F S* U gig)
 22 om *sunt*

XXVII

- 1 *et tradiderunt* (Bed Bentl παρῃδιδουν gr plur)
 2 *incipientes* (c dem gig etc)
 2 *egressi sumus*, ubi *sustulimus* clem
 3 *devenimus* ubi *de* sup vs m pr
 4 *sustulissemus nos* sic
 4 *subnauigamus* pr m: add *ui* sup vs m sec
 5 ante *uenimus* + *quindecim diebus* (D k gr 137)
 7 *Cretae secundum Salomonem*
 12 *hiemare apud portum* (p²)
 17 *et timentes* (Bed ap Sabat)
 17 *Syrtes* (Bed ap Sabat)
 17 vase] *uelo* (I)
 21 tollere] *egredi* (A D Θ* M R dem)
 25 post *deo* add *meo* extra vs m pr (c dem etc)
 29 om *autem*
 43 *mittere se in mare primos* (S U p² A B K R V c dem)

XXVIII

- 1 *Mitilene insula uocatur*
 16 *sibimet ipsis foris extra castra cum* (demid gig p gr 137)
 17 *aduersus legem faciens* (W p)
 24 *quae ab eo dicebantur* (G W)
 28 *ipsi aud. et* om *et*
 29 *exierunt*] *egressi sunt* (W)
 29 om *ab eo* (fere omn codd)
 30 *conductu* (A D M U W)
 30 post *ad eum* + *iudeos atque grecos* (CRTW cum gr 137: *et disputabat cum iudeis et grecis* gig p par. lat. 202, 343)

F. C. CONYBEARE.

THE LATIN SOURCES OF THE COMMENTARY OF PELAGIUS ON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

PART II

THE COMMENTARY OF PELAGIUS ON 'ROMANS' COMPARED WITH
AUGUSTINE, *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistula ad
Romanos* AND *Epistulae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio*.

It may seem at first somewhat strange to suggest that in writing his commentary on 'Romans' Pelagius should have borrowed from one so diametrically opposed to him as Augustine. It is not, however, so surprising after all. At the time that Pelagius was writing, Augustine was already a man of note, and it was but natural that a calm and unprejudiced enquirer like Pelagius should take from him as from others whatever he thought suitable for his purpose. Two features of the works of Augustine under review must have specially appealed to him. These were Augustine's view of Foreknowledge, which was exactly that of Ambrosiaster and not essentially different from that of Origen-Rufinus, and, in the second place, the frequent allusions he makes to the freedom of the will. It is doubtless true that Augustine afterwards retracted or modified most of the views which specially commended themselves to Pelagius, but this, of course, took place after the publication of his commentary. It was not till Pelagius announced his special point of view that Augustine was moved to develop the teaching which proved so antagonistic to Pelagius and Pelagianism.

The text of Augustine used in the following notes is the Migne reprint (*Patrologia Latina* tom. xxxv col. 2063-2106) of the Benedictine edition, which is the best of the existing editions.

1. **Rom. i 11.** The comment of Augustine (*Propositio* ii) is as follows: *Quod autem dicit, 'Ut gratiam vobis spiritalem impertiar': dilectionem scilicet Dei et proximi, ut per caritatem Christi gentibus in evangelium vocatis minime inviderent.*

Pelagius in three places makes it plain that Paul was anxious to promote brotherly love among all the believers. Commenting on v. 7—'omnibus qui sunt Romae in caritate dei'—he says—P 671. 36 ff—*Hoc est, omnibus credentibus, quos aequaliter diligit deus sine acceptione personae Iudaei vel Greci.*

Again, on the same verse, he says—P 671. 47 ff—*Commonet etiam*

pacificos esse debere, unam eandemque gratiam consecutos. Lastly, on v. 8—‘pro omnibus vobis’—he writes—P 671. 55—*non pro Iudaeis solis.*

2. Rom. i 18. In his comment on this verse—*Propos. iii*—Augustine makes it clear that Paul is not finding fault with the Gentiles for not *knowing* God: what he blames is their *impietas*. This is made equally plain in Pelagius’s comments upon this and following verses. It is worth noting that Augustine here quotes from Sap. xiii 9, while in his comment on the last part of v. 19 Pelagius—675. 1 f—quotes from Sap. xiii 5.

***3. Rom. i 24.** It is interesting to compare the definition of ‘tradidit’ in v. 24 given by Augustine in *Propos. v* with what Pelagius says. Augustine writes, *Quod autem dicit, ‘Tradidit’, intelligitur, dimisit* and ‘in desideria cordis eorum’. So Pelagius, quoting from Ps. lxxxi 12, says—P 675. 44 f—*sicut in psalmo dicit: ‘Et dimisi eos secundum desideria cordis eorum’.*

So also on v. 26 he says—P 676. 11 f—*in his flagitiis sunt dimissi.* Compare on v. 24 Ambrosiaster 62. 15 f *Tradere est permittere.*

4. Rom. ii 5. Augustine, *Propos. ix*, defines ‘ira’ as *vindicta*. This definition he repeats in *Propos. xxiii* on Rom. iv 15. So Pelagius—678. 49—also uses the word *vindicta* in his comment: *unde non agnita pietas maius iudicium parat, ut vindictam sentiat, qui misericordiam sentire contempsit.* This comment of Pelagius appears to owe something to Ambrosiaster 68. 20–26, where the following occurs: *ideo ipsis est ira, quia sentiunt poenam* and ‘in die revelationis iusti iudicii Dei’. Augustine, too, appears to owe something to Ambstr. Compare his remark *cum Deus utique, sicuti nos, perturbationibus non subiaceat* etc. with Ambstr. 69. 20 *nam Dei natura ab his passionibus immunis est.*

The phrase *notandum quia* used by Augustine is a favourite expression of Pelagius and is used more than once by the interpolator, e. g. P 706. 50; 708. 22.

***5. Rom. iii 20.** Augustine’s admirable comment on this verse—*Propos. xiii–xviii*—contains much that may be paralleled in Pelagius. At the outset, he tells us that Paul’s words *sollicite satis legenda sunt, ut neque lex ab Apostolo improbata videatur, neque homini arbitrium liberum sit ablatum.*

Both these points are emphasized by Pelagius. On Rom. iii 1 he says—P 683. 2 f—*reddita ratione quod lex contempta non prosit* etc.; and on Rom. vii 12 he writes—P 703. 1 ff—*contra impugnatores legis et contra eos qui iustitiam a bonitate discernunt, lex et bona et sancta dicitur . . .* More important is Augustine’s reference to man’s *liberum arbitrium*. The expression occurs three times in this particular comment, twice in *Propos. xlv* on Rom. vii 19, 20, three times in *Propos. lx* on Rom. ix 11–13, and twice in *Propos. lxi* on Rom. ix 15–21. No student

of Pelagius requires to be told how emphatic he is in insisting upon the freedom of the will. It is true, of course, that he goes further than Augustine and asserts that we can avoid sinning, if so we will. On Rom. viii 3 he says—P 706. 31 ff—that God condemned sin in the flesh *ut ostenderet voluntatem esse in crimine, non naturam, quae talis a deo facta est, ut possit non peccare, si velit*. Again, on Rom. vi 13, he writes—P 698. 48 ff—*Simul notandum quod homo membra sua cui velit parti exhibeat per arbitrii libertatem*.

Augustine's position is stated in the comment on Rom. iii 20, where he says, *Ante gratiam non est liberum arbitrium ut non peccemus, sed tantum ut peccare nolumus. Gratia vero efficit ut non tantum velimus recte facere, sed etiam possimus, non viribus nostris, sed Liberatoris auxilio* etc. Pelagius sometimes expresses a view more in keeping with that of Augustine just quoted. For instance, on Rom. ix 16, in an alternative comment he writes—P 716. 57 f—*Ita non volentis neque currentis tantum sed et domini adiuvantis*. Also on Rom. vii 18 he says—P 704. 25 ff—*Est voluntas, sed non est effectus, quia carnalis consuetudo voluntati resistit*. He is careful, however, to point out that this sinful principle dwells in a man *quasi hospes*—P 704. 18—and that Paul has been speaking, not in his own person, but *in persona eius hominis qui legem accepit, id est, qui primum dei mandata cognoscit, cum consuetudinem habeat delinquendi*—P 701. 52 ff. Compare Pelag. 705. 23 f; 703. 47 f.

Pelagius, as might be expected, touches Augustine in his comment on the limitations of the Law. He says—P 685. 55 f—*Non remissio, nec peccatum, sed cognitio*. Augustine writes, *non enim ablatio peccati est*.

6. Rom. iv 4. Compare Augustine, *Propos.* xxi, *Nam si debitam mercedem vellet reddere, poenam redderet debitam peccatoribus*, and Pelagius, on Rom. iv 5—P 688. 42 ff—*Convertentem impium per solam fidem iustificat deus, non per opera bona quae non habuit: alioquin per impietatis opera fuerat puniendus*.

7. Rom. iv 15. Note that Augustine again defines 'ira' as *vindicta*, *Propos.* xxiii. Ambrosiaster in his comment on Rom. iv 15 again defines 'ira' as *poena*: *vid.* Ambstr. 89. 35 f.

Pelagius does not seem to have made any use of Augustine, *Propos.* xxiv–xxviii.

***8. Rom. v 14.** In Augustine, *Propos.* xxix, is found the following: 'Forma' autem 'futuri' dictus est Adam, sed a contrario, ut, quomodo per illum mors, sic per Dominum nostrum vita.

Pelagius—695. 2 f—writes: *Sive: Ut quidam dicunt: 'forma' a contrario: hoc est, sicut ille peccati caput, ita et iste iustitiae*. There seems little doubt, then, that Augustine is one of the *Quidam* here referred to by Pelagius, and that Pelagius, therefore, was familiar with the treatise where this opinion occurs.

9. Rom. v 20. Pelagius's comment on this verse—P 696. 26-31—is undoubtedly in harmony with Augustine, *Propos.* xxx, but it also shews traces of indebtedness to Ambrosiaster 103. 27-30. There is, in fact, a close resemblance between the remarks of all three writers.

Pelagius appears not to have made any use of Augustine's comments on *vv.* 1, 2, 6, 14 of ch. vi, *Propos.* xxxi-xxxv.

10. Rom. vii 2. Pelagius has certainly not adopted *in toto* the explanation of Paul's simile given by Augustine in *Propos.* xxxvi. There are, however, points of resemblance. Pelagius shews by his comments that he realized quite well what Augustine states explicitly, viz. that the simile does not correspond in every particular with that which it is intended to illustrate. The following quotations will illustrate the differences and the resemblances between the commentators. Pelagius says—P 700. 39 f—*Per comparationem, legis mandatum 'virum' appellat et plebem vel animam 'mulierem'*. Augustine, on the other hand, has a threefold distinction: *cum ergo et ibi tria sint, anima tamquam mulier, passiones peccatorum tamquam vir, et Lex tamquam lex viri, non ibi tamen peccatis mortuis, tamquam viro mortuo, liberari animam dicit*. One wonders if Augustine was quite satisfied with his own interpretation of Paul, as, in spite of what he has just said, he writes a little further on: *Moriatur autem et peccatum*, etc.

***11. Rom. vii 9, 10.** Pelagius has not made use of Augustine's comment on Rom. vii 8, 13—*Propos.* xxxvii—in his notes on these verses, although Augustine's concluding sentence—*Bona est enim Lex; sed sine gratia ostendit tantummodo peccata, non tollit*—may be paralleled by other comments in Pelagius, e.g. on Rom. iii 20 and v 20. See notes 5 and 9 *supra*.

Augustine's next comment, however, *Propos.* xxxviii, on Rom. vii 9, 10 contains a passage—*ego autem mortuum me esse cognovi*—to which there is almost a verbal parallel in Pelagius 702. 36 f—*ut omnis, qui illud fecerit, mortuum se esse cognoscat*.

12. Rom. vii 19, 20; 23-25. In his comment on *vv.* 19, 20 Augustine—*Propos.* xlv—twice refers to man's *liberum arbitrium*. Commenting on *vv.* 23-25—*Propos.* xlv-xlvi—he refers to the conflict between the *lex mentis* and the *carnalis consuetudo*, and also points out that Paul is here describing the man *qui nondum est sub gratia*. Pelagius, of course, agrees with him in stating that Paul is not speaking in his own person (see the references in note 5); like Augustine he upholds man's *liberum arbitrium*, and he is constantly referring to the habit of sin as *carnalis consuetudo, consuetudo peccati (peccatorum, delictorum)*. The difference, however, between the commentators is, that while Pelagius says that the habit of sin can be overcome by an exercise of the will, Augustine declares that this cannot be done without Grace.

Pelagius appears not to have made any use of Augustine *Propos.* xlvii–lii.

*13. Rom. viii 19–23. Augustine—*Propos.* liii—understands ‘creatura’ to mean man. Pelagius inclines to the view that the term applies to the angels, but to this Augustine objects. The interpolator—Pelag. 709. 31 *et sqq.*—objects to the view of *Quidam* who say that the *irrationalis vel insensibilis creatura* is meant, which Augustine says is an error of the Manichaeans.

This comment of Augustine is interesting as giving us the first hint of what he understands by Foreknowledge. He says: *sed tamen in eis qui credituri erant videbat Apostolus quod dicit, quia ‘creatura liberabitur a servitute interitus’* . . .

Compare *Propos.* lv on Rom. viii 28–30 *nec praedestinavit aliquem, nisi quem praescivit crediturum et secuturum vocationem suam* ;

Propos. lx on Rom. ix 11–13 *ut quem sibi crediturum esse praescivit, ipsum elegerit* etc. ;

Propos. lxii on Rom. ix 15–21: *quomodo Deus praescius eligat credituros, et damnet incredulos.*

With this last passage compare the comment of Pelagius on Rom. ix 10, where he says—P 715. 24 ff—*Ita ergo et nunc quos praesciit de gentibus credituros elegit et ex Istrahel reiecit incredulos.*

This is, of course, the view of Foreknowledge held by Ambrosiaster—see Ambstr. Pelag. note 109—but it is particularly prominent in Pelagius, e.g. P 711. 31, 36, 48 ; 712. 15 ; 715. 25 ; 722. 35.

*14. Rom. viii 26, 27. Augustine begins his comment on these verses—*Propos.* liv—as follows: *manifestum est eum de SPIRITU SANCTO dicere.* Compare Pelagius 710. 47 ff *Infirma est enim nostra possibilitas, nisi SANCTI SPIRITUS inluminatione adiuvetur.*

Commenting on ‘quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus’, Augustine writes: *et in hac ipsa vita multa possunt nobis prospera videri quae adversa sunt, et adversa quae prospera.* Then he continues at some length with illustrations. So Pelagius says—P 710. 51 f—*frequenter obsunt, quae prodesse arbitramur, etc.*

Lastly, compare the two following passages:—

Augustine 2076. 37–40 :

Gemere dicit Spiritum, quod nos gemere faciat caritate, concilians desiderium futurae vitae: sicut dicit, *Temptat vos Dominus Deus vester, ut sciat si diligitis eum*, id est, ut scire vos faciat.

Pelagius 711. 11–14 :

Postulat autem, quia postulare nos facit gemitibus, qui enarrari non possunt, sicut temptare nos dicitur deus, ut sciat, hoc est, ut scire nos faciat, quales simus.

From these parallels it is more than probable that Pelagius both knew and used the comment of Augustine.

15. Rom. viii 29. Discussing why Christ is here called ‘primo-

genitus' and not *unigenitus*, Augustine says—*Propos.* lvi—*Unde et alio loco*¹ 'primogenitum' eum 'a mortuis' dicit.

With this compare Pelagius 711. 41 *Primogenitus ex mortuis in gloria*, and Ambrosiaster 134. 19f *Est et* 'primogenitus ex mortuis'. Ambrosiaster, however, mentions four respects in which Christ is 'primogenitus'. That which we have quoted comes third.

*16. *Rom.* viii 38. The comment of Augustine—*Propos.* lviii—contains the following: *Nemo ergo separat, nec qui minatur mortem . . . neque qui pollicetur vitam.* Compare Pelagius 713. 2ff *Pro certo confido quia nec si mihi quis mortem minetur, nec si vitam promittat . . .*

One might be pardoned for supposing that here there is a clear case of borrowing by Pelagius from Augustine, even though the close resemblance between the comments ends at this point. Pelagius's comment, however, is almost certainly a summary of the longer exposition of Ambrosiaster 136. 39 to 137. 17 (see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 112), and there is, therefore, a strong probability that both Augustine and Pelagius borrowed from the same source.

17. *Rom.* ix 11-13. There is some similarity of thought between Augustine, *Propos.* lix, and Pelagius 714. 11-16 on *Rom.* ix 5, but no apparent borrowing on the part of Pelagius.

Augustine, *Propos.* ix on *Rom.* ix 11-13, has already been referred to in note 13. This admirable comment, with its definition of Foreknowledge and its references to man's *liberum arbitrium*, has doubtless influenced Pelagius (whose notes also touch Ambrosiaster and Origen-Rufinus). Both Augustine and Pelagius point out that God does not choose a man's works; God chooses the man who He knows will believe in Him.

The next comment of Augustine—*Propos.* lxi on *Rom.* ix 11-15—continues in the same spirit, and contains a remark—*Nostrum enim est credere et velle*—which is decidedly Pelagian in tone.

*18. *Rom.* ix 15-21. Augustine has a long comment—*Propos.* lxii—on these verses. There are two allusions to *liberum arbitrium*; there is a passage—*quomodo Deus praescius eligat credituros et damnet incredulos*—which, as was pointed out in note 13, may be paralleled from Pelag. 715. 25f; and the clause in the opening sentence—*non sufficere dicit velle nostrum, nisi ADIUVET Deus*—may have influenced Pelagius to write the alternative comment (referred to in note 5)—*Ita non volentis neque currentis tantum, sed et domini ADIUVANTIS*, P 716. 57f—where he makes what is, for him, a considerable admission.

This comment, then, like the two last, may be supposed to have had some influence upon Pelagius.

19. *Rom.* ix 22. In *Propos.* lxii Augustine was insisting that Pharaoh because of his *infidelitas* and *impietas* fully deserved all he got.

¹ i. e. Col. i 18.

This he repeats in his comment on *v. 22*—*Propos. lxxiii*—adding that God stayed His hand until the time was ripe for Pharaoh's punishment, *ad correctionem eorum quos ab errore instituerat liberare* etc. This may have been in Pelagius's mind when he wrote the first of his alternative comments—*P 717. 3-14*. It must be pointed out, however, that Ambrosiaster gives a similar interpretation of this verse, and that there is an undeniable point of contact between one part of his comment and Pelag. *717. 10-12*. (See Ambstr.-Pelag. note 118.)

Pelagius does not seem to have made any use of Augustine, *Propos. lxiv* on Rom. ix 24, 25, or *Propos. lxv* on Rom. ix 27. Augustine's comments on ch. x—*Propos. lxvi-lxviii*—do not appear to have been used by Pelagius, and the same applies to *Propos. lxix* and *lxx* on Rom. xi 1 and 11.

Augustine's comment on Rom. xii 20—*Propos. lxxi*—is certainly not the basis of the interpretation given by Pelagius, *731. 48-54*, or of that given by the interpolator, *P 731. 54-59*.

20. Rom. xiii 1. Pelagius's comment on this verse—*732. 10-16*—is exactly in the spirit of Augustine, *Propos. lxxii*. The latter says: *rectissime iam monet* (sc. *Paulus*), *ne quis ex eo quod a Domino suo in libertatem vocatus est, factusque est Christianus, extollatur in superbiam* etc.

So Pelagius writes: *Haec causa adversus illos prolata est, qui se putabant ita debere libertate Christiana uti* etc. *Quocumque ergo modo eos humiliare desiderat, ne forte propter superbiam . . . contumeliam patiantur*.

There is nothing, however, in Pelagius's comment of Augustine's strong assertion of spiritual independence—*2083. 51 ff*.

Augustine, *Propos. lxxiii-lxxvii*, on Rom. xiii 3, 4; 5; 8, 10; 11; 14 cannot be said to have influenced the comments of Pelagius on these verses.

***21. Rom. xiv 1-3.** The interpolator touches Pelagius, Ambrosiaster, and Origen-Rufinus in his comments on the first four verses of this chapter, and there appears to be something in common between him and Augustine as well.

Compare Augustine *Propos. lxxviii* *Omnis enim tunc immolaticia caro in MACELLO VENDEBATUR*,¹ and *P 735. 7 ff* *Item: Hic 'infirmos fide' hos dicit, qui carnes quae in MACELLO tunc temporis VENDEBANTUR, idololatrias esse credebant, et propter hoc sic putantes, ne POLLUERENTUR, oleribus vescebantur*. Augustine, also, says that Paul is urging the 'weak in the faith' *ne tamquam POLLUI iudicaret* those who do not abstain from meat.

Presumably, then, the interpolator was a well-read man, acquainted as he seems to have been with Ambrosiaster, Augustine, and Origen-Rufinus.

22. Rom. xiv 4. In his comment on this verse—*Propos. lxxix*—Augustine says that there are some things on which we ought to pass judgement: *de illo autem nefario stupro . . . praecepit* (sc. *Paulus*) *debere iudicari*. So Pelagius writes—*735. 53 ff*—*Ceterum ipse Paulus contra mandatum facientes iudicavit, et aliis iudicandi tribut facultatem*.

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. x 25. It is rather extraordinary that both writers should use this unclassical form of the passive of *vendo*.

Augustine's comment on Rom. xiv 5, 6—*Propos. lxxx*—is totally different from that of Pelagius.

23. Rom. xiv 22, 16. The comment of Augustine on these verses—*Propos. lxxxi*—is quite in harmony with what Pelagius says. Compare the allusion to Titus i 15—*bona est haec fides qua credimus OMNIA MUNDA MUNDIS* (repeated in *Propos. lxxxii* on Rom. xv 8, 9—*ista sua fide, qua iam credunt OMNIA MUNDA MUNDIS*) with Pelagius 737. 32 f—*Libertas, quam habemus in Domino, ut OMNIA nobis MUNDA sint*, etc., on Rom. xiv 16, and the interpolator on Rom. xiv 4—P 735. 57 f—*qui robustus fide est, OMNIA MUNDA MUNDIS esse cognoscit*.

Augustine's comment on Rom. xv 16—*Propos. lxxxiii*—does not seem to have influenced that of Pelagius.

24. Rom. xvi 17, 18. In Augustine's comment on these verses—*Propos. lxxxiv*—note the reference to those 'maxime qui ex circumcisione sunt'—Titus i 10—and compare the similar reference in Pelagius 744. 49 f to those *qui ex circumcisione illo tempore venerant*.

25. Augustine's *Epistolae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio* is a treatise in which Paul's *salutatio tantummodo expeditur, et disputatur de peccato in Spiritum sanctum*. The first half deals with Rom. i 1-7; then follow two sections, 11 and 12, in which Augustine points out that, although the Holy Spirit is not expressly mentioned in v. 7, we must nevertheless understand Him to be implied; and lastly comes a long discussion—§§ 14-23—of what is meant by sinning against the Holy Spirit. Pelagius's comments on these verses, though occupying only about seventy lines, seem to touch this treatise of Augustine at some points. There appear also to be some points of contact between Augustine and what Pelagius says not only in other parts of his commentary on Romans but in his *Praefatio* as well. The following may be noted :—

Pelagius, as his *Praefatio* shews, regards the Epistle to the Hebrews as Pauline; Augustine, from what he says in § 11, may be supposed to share this view. Compare the following passages, on the absence of Paul's name from the beginning of the Epistle.

Aug. *Inch. Expos.* § 11 :

... excepta epistola quam ad Hebraeos scripsit, ubi principium salutatorium de industria dicitur omisisse, ne Iudaei, qui adversus eum pugnaciter oblatrabant, nomine eius offensi vel inimico animo legerent, vel omnino legere non curarent quod ad eorum salutem scripserat ...

Pelag. *Praef.* :

... quoniam apud Hebraeorum ecclesias quasi destructor legis falsa suspicione habebatur, voluit tacito nomine de figuris legis et veritate Christi reddere rationem, ne odium nominis fronte praelati utilitatem excluderet lectionis.

Both Augustine and Pelagius say that the omission of the name was intentional, and both attribute similar motives to Paul for suppressing it. The source of both comm. is undoubtedly to be found in Jerome *De Viris Illustribus*¹ ch. v (published A. D. 392).

26. In his introductory paragraph Augustine briefly explains what was the occasion of Paul's writing his Epistle to the Romans. Certain believing Jews, he says, *coeperant tumultuari adversus gentes, et maxime adversus apostolum Paulum*. Paul, he adds, in his endeavour to restore peace and concord, proceeds *tanta moderatione, uti nec Iudaeos superbire permittat, tamquam de meritis operum Legis, nec gentes merito fidei adversus Iudaeos inflari, quod ipsi receperint Christum, quem illi crucifixerunt*. He unites both Jews and Gentiles into one people in Christ, *utrisque auferens omnem superbiam meritorum, et iustificandos utrosque per disciplinam humilitatis associans*.

This is exactly the account given by Pelagius in his Prologue to Romans, which is too long to quote here. The last sentence, however, may be given: *Quam ob rem vicissim eos humilians, ad pacem et ad concordiam cohortatur*. This word *humiliare* occurs in the same connexion in Pelag. 722. 26 on Rom. xi 1, and again at Pelag. 732. 13 on Rom. xiii 1. For a reference to Paul's 'moderation' compare Pelag. 687. 41 f on Rom. iii 29, where he says *Pulchre modum servavit in verbis*.

27. At the outset of § 3 Augustine writes: *Sane Evangelium Dei . . . COMMENDAT auctoritate Prophetarum, ut . . . Gentes rursus iam non superbire admoneat*: cf. Ambstr. 359. 14 f on Gal. i 2. Ambrosiaster, Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius all point out likewise that Paul is preaching the Christ foretold by the Prophets. This comment, a natural enough one to make, may be supposed to have occurred independently to all four writers. Ambrosiaster, commenting on the words 'in scripturis sanctis' of Rom. i 2, says *Hoc . . . adiecit, ut . . . legem COMMENDARET*, with which compare Augustine.

With the latter part of the quotation from Augustine given above compare Pelagius 722. 41 on Rom. xi 2, where he says *Gentibus superbiam tollit*, and Pelag. 726. 25 on Rom. xi 25, where he writes . . . *ne contra illos superbiant gentes*.

Towards the end of the section Augustine has the expression *volens . . . ostendere*. This is a favourite phrase with Pelagius, e. g. 724. 39; 692. 39; 686. 52 (*vult ostendere*), and with the interpolator, e. g. Pelag. 701. 32 (*ostendere volens*); 701. 40; 703. 14 (*vult ostendere*). It will be shewn later to be common in Origen-Rufinus.

28. In § 4 Augustine writes on Rom. i 3 *Non est enim factus (sc. Christus) secundum id quod Verbum Dei est*. Compare with this Pelagius's comment on the words 'secundum carnem': *Addendo*,

¹ This is Professor Souter's discovery.

'secundum carnem', *et Fotinum extinxit et Arrium. Si enim 'secundum carnem' factus est, secundum verbi utique substantiam non est factus*—P 670. 39 ff.

*29. Commenting on the words 'Iesu Christi domini nostri' in Rom. i 4 Pelagius writes—671. 17 ff—*Non omnium resurgentium, sed AD CHRISTUM PERTINENTIAM, in ipso Christo resurrectionis forma portenditur.*

So Augustine, in § 5, says of Christ: *Eum enim decebat venire ad iudicium resurgentium, qui praecesserat ad exemplum: neque ad exemplum omnium resurgentium* etc. A little later he writes: *Qui praedestinatus est Filius Dei ex resurrectione mortuorum suorum, hoc est, AD SE PERTINENTIAM in vitam aeternam.* Cf. Augustine *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* i § 34 *in his vero, qui ad Christum pertinent, Christi munitur auxilio (sc. liberum arbitrium).*¹

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that here is to be found the source of Pelagius's comment and a proof that Pelagius was acquainted with, and to some small extent used, Augustine's *Expositio*.

30. Pelagius's comment on 'Ad oboediendum fidei in omnibus gentibus'—Rom. i 5—is 'In omnibus gentibus' *apostolatam accepi, ut iam non legi sed fidei oboedirent*—P 671. 28 f. Compare what Augustine says in § 6 *ad hoc dicit apostolatam se accepisse, ut oboediatur fidei* etc.

31. Commenting on 'vocatis sanctis'—Rom. i 7, Pelagius says—671. 39 f—*Sanctis vocatione dei, non merito sanctitatis.*

So Augustine in § 7 writes: 'Vocatis' *autem 'sanctis', non ita intelligendum est, tamquam ideo vocati sint, quia sancti erant, sed ideo sancti effecti, quia vocati sunt.*

32. Note the reference in Augustine § 8 to corrupt judges: *Nam et iudices mali praebent gratiam in accipiendis personis aliqua cupiditate illecti aut timore perterriti.* So, on Rom. ii 2, Pelagius, after saying that God judges *sine personarum acceptione*, writes—678. 6 ff—*Humanum autem iudicium multis modis corrumpitur: amore, odio, timore, ac avaritia saepe iudicii integritas violatur.*

*33. On the words 'gratia' and 'pax' (Rom. i 7) Augustine writes in § 8 *Gratia est ergo a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Iesu Christo, quia nobis peccata remittuntur. . . Pax vero ipsa qua RECONCILIAMUR DEO.*

Pelagius writes—671. 45 ff—*et gratis nobis peccata remissa sunt, et RECONCILIATI SUMUS DEO per mortem filii eius.*

A possible source of both comments may be the corresponding comment of Ambrosiaster on this verse—53. 30 ff—*Gratia est, quia a peccatis absoluti sunt: pax vero, quia ex inimicis reconciliati sunt Creatori.*

¹ I quote this from Bruckner *Quellen zur Geschichte des Pelagianischen Streits* p. 32.

Augustine repeats his definition in §§ 14 and 23, and Pelagius is equally fond of it. He has it on Gal. i 3—P 842. 21 f; on Ephes. i 2—P 861. 5; and on 1 Tim. i 2—P 917. 12 f.

Ambrosiaster does not repeat it at these places but Augustine does so in his comment on Gal. i 3-5, so that Pelagius may perhaps have taken his interpretation from Augustine rather than from Ambstr. direct.

*34. Commenting on Rom. vi 9 Pelagius, in an alternative comment, writes—698. 23 ff—*Iam non potestis iterum baptizari, quia Christus non potest pro vobis iterum crucifigi, sicut dicit ad Hebraeos: 'Impossibile est eos, qui semel illuminati sunt', et cetera. Quibus non paenitentiam negat, sed iterationem baptismi differtur.*

This comment does not appear to be indebted either to Ambrosiaster or to Origen-Rufinus v 10 (though the quotation from Hebrews appears in the comment of Origen-Rufinus on Rom. vi 1, 2—V 7, p. 378): but compare § 19 of the *expositio* of Augustine, where he says: . . . *non posse deinceps eum, qui peccaverit, iterum baptizando purgari. Quo intellectu non intercluditur poenitendi locus.* Later, he says: *Non enim possunt denuo baptizari qui semel baptizati sunt.*

It is tempting to think that here is to be found the source of Pelagius's comment, taken from a work with which he was obviously acquainted. At the end of § 19, it may be added, Augustine quotes Heb. vi 1, 2.

There is just one more point to be mentioned. Pelagius, as Professor Souter has pointed out, is fond of referring to Simo Magus. Augustine twice refers to him, in § 15 and again in § 16.

A. J. SMITH.

REVIEWS

Christianity in History: A Study of Religious Development. By J. VERNON BARTLET, M.A., D.D., and A. J. CARLYLE, M.A., D.Litt. (Macmillan, 1917.)

WITH no very great change of form this treatise might have taken the shape of an Encyclopaedia of Historical Christianity; there is scarcely a tenet or an institution of the various Churches which it does not discuss. This makes the reviewer's task a difficult one; for, accurate and suggestive as it is, the book is discursive, and covers a large ground. As far as religion is concerned,

‘Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas, gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.’

And it is inspired by the modern spirit; one might describe it as a Baedeker of Christianity, revised up to date. Of its twenty-four chapters, two are devoted to Origins, eight to Ancient Christianity, six to the Mediaeval Period, three to the Transition, and five to the Modern Age. The limits of a review compel concentration; we may limit ourselves to the last two sections, whose questions are more intimately connected with those of our own time.

The Mediaeval Period was far from being an age of stagnation:

‘The sense of the independence of the religious life was in a large measure overshadowed in the Middle Ages by the authority of the Church; but it was never lost’ (p. 401).

There was, indeed, very much more freedom both of thought and action in mediaeval than there is in modern Catholicism. To realize this is to possess the key to many locked doors. Such a book as, e.g., Ullmann's *Reformers before the Reformation* takes us into an atmosphere radically other than that of post-Tridentine ecclesiasticism. The acute rationalism of the scholastic method acted as a corrective to the uncritical assumption of its premisses; and the distinction between the internal and the external *forum* set a limit to the absolutism of the hierarchy. The Canonists who urged, with Gratian, that ‘an excommunication may be unjust and therefore in the strict sense, before God, invalid’, had the authority of St Augustine behind them.

‘Saepe etiam sinit divina providentia per nonnullas nimium turbulentas carnalium hominum seditiones expelli de congregatione Christiana etiam viros bonos . . . Hos coronat in occulto Pater in occulto videns.

Rarum hoc videtur genus ; sed tamen exempla non desunt ; imo plura sunt quam credi potest'.¹

It may surprise us to find Innocent III laying down explicitly that 'while the judgement of God is always true, the judgement of the Church may be erroneous ; and that thus a man may be condemned by God who is held guiltless by the Church, or may be condemned by the Church who is held guiltless before God' (p. 402).

We live in another climate : the Catholic would have been suspect who had applied the words to the excommunication of M. Loisy under Pius X.

Again, popular piety has outstripped theology. A strictly scholastic sermon on the Trinity would now scarcely escape the reproach of Sabellianism ; an exposition of Transubstantiation on Thomist lines would be considered wanting in devotion to the Blessed Sacrament : there has been a lowering of intellectual and moral standards, a narrowing all along the line. This dates roughly from what F. X. Kraus describes as 'die brutale Hispanisierung Italiens' after the Treaty of Bologna (1530). Spain was the Prussia of the sixteenth century—heavy, fanatical, pedantic. And the Spaniard was a hard master ; for generations he has been the evil genius of Rome. For the Roman temper, masterful as it was, had a certain Italian facility—an ease and lightness of touch. Spanish religion had a seriousness which Roman lacked. But its God was a cruel Moloch ; the fire without was kindled by the fire within. It was Spain that inspired the Counter-Reformation, and furnished its weapons of predilection—the rack, the stake, the cord. To speak, in connexion with 'the symptoms of failure and inadequacy which made themselves felt in the Mediaeval Church', of 'the two-fold effort of the Christian consciousness to remedy these known as the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation' (p. xvi), is to class under one head two movements of different origin and quality ; while to describe the latter as 'another side of the revival of religion in Europe' (p. 495), and to say that 'the Roman Church was now possessed by a zeal for religion and the reformation of manners not less real than that of the Northern Protestants' (p. 497) is to use language which it is difficult to bring into relation with facts. For the Counter-Reformation was essentially a political movement : its aim was to reimpose the yoke of authority, temporal even more than spiritual, not to quicken souls. In their laudable desire to avoid controversy, the authors of this Study seem scarcely to have realized the sheer wickedness of this movement : a wickedness by which men of the world—whose moral sense (unwilling as we may be to admit it) is often sounder than that of men of religion

¹ *De vera Religione*, cap. vi.

—were repelled. There were, of course, lights in the picture : such a life as that of St Philip Neri, known as the Apostle of Rome, shews that real spiritual work was done. But this good man, who markedly held aloof from the Curia—he revered Savonarola as a saint—was in no way representative of the religious world of his time. More typical figures were Ignatius Loyola, and Charles Borromeo—men of the letter, of rule, of organization, of the ecclesiastical machine. Spirit was ignored. Emancipation was revolt ; the yoke of the hierarchy must be reimposed at all costs and by all methods. The principle was carried out regardless of consequences. It is painful to find so pious a man as St Charles Borromeo acting upon it. Acton reminds us that ‘a man’s opinion of the Papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination’ ; and the Roman congregations threw a net of falsehood over antiquity. Friedrich quotes a contemporary writer :

‘Ita quidem ut in posterum non liceat affirmare ex lectione istorum auctorum quid illi senserint, sed quanam sit sententia Curiae Romanae, quae omnia depravavit . . . denique possumus certe statuere non dari librum integrum aut non fucatum.’

This declension must be taken in connexion with the sectionalism of the Post-Reformation Church. Pre- and Post-Reformation Catholicism differ fundamentally. The former, in the West at least, was the Church ; the latter is one of the Churches : and there is all the difference in the world between the two things. The Mediaeval Church contained many and conflicting elements in a state of imperfect equilibrium. At the Reformation the freer and more active escaped, those that were left entering into new combinations political and religious, and taking on new forms. Post-Reformation Catholicism is Latin, not European ; and, as the latinizing process has become more acute, even the remains of the older freedom have been extruded. Jansenism, Gallicanism, Febronianism, in our own time Modernism—the iron uniformity of Rome has crushed them out, and they have disappeared. The continuity between the Catholicism of the thirteenth century and that of the twentieth is exterior—a thing of ritual, polity, and formula : the spiritual kinship of the great figures of the Middle Ages follows other and larger lines.

The Reformed Churches are exposed to the same tendencies as the Church of Rome, though these tendencies shape themselves differently, and are influenced by her temper and outlook to a greater extent than is generally realized. Not only is this the case with the Catholicizing sections of the Anglican and Lutheran Churches : the larger body acts upon the lesser communions by attraction and repulsion, by community of circumstance by association of ideas. The controversies of the

sixteenth century left an evil heritage behind them: while theologians disputed all that was disputable—and much that was not—moderate men were alienated by their interminable and, to the lay mind, meaningless conflicts; and took up a position outside the Churches, which became more and more denominational both in idea and in fact. Yet here, as the writers of this Study reminds us,

‘We touch on urgent problems of the hour. For many minds certain conceptions and institutional forms expressive of the Church idea are essential to its assured realization, and so to true unity. One must sadly admit, in the light of the recent past, as well as of the long persistence of the exclusive, often mutually exclusive, attitude of the several forms of “Catholicism”—Roman, Orthodox, and also Anglican—that divergent conceptions of “Apostolic” orthodoxy and authority, of Orders, and, above all, of valid Sacraments, are likely to keep the bulk of Christians apart for conscientious reasons. . . . Yet the tide is setting towards Reunion, first in spirit, and then in tentative and partial forms of Christian comity, especially on the Mission Field’ (p. 604).

And

‘Many of the present barriers are crumbling at the touch of the historic spirit, and of the growing sense of relative values which it brings to mind and conscience. Possibly the process will be hastened by the present “shaking of things which can be removed, as of things made” by men’s hands; and in the new world after the War new ecclesiastical values may appear’ (p. 606).

Is it not impossible to think that anything not taught by Christ is essential to Christianity?—that the rest is other than time-and-place stuff, varying with the conditions of place and time? How much does not this rule out! In 1785 Paley spoke of ‘that spirit of examination and research which is gone forth in Christian countries’; and urged that ‘whatever renders religion more rational renders it more credible; that he who by a diligent and faithful examination of the original records dismisses from the system one article which contradicts the apprehension, the experience, the reasoning of mankind, does more towards recommending the belief—and, with the belief, the influence of Christianity to the understandings and consciences of serious enquirers, and, through them, to universal reception and authority—than can be effected by a thousand contenders for creeds and ordinances of human establishment.’¹ These famous words, if true for his generation, are doubly true to-day. For the present world-War has closed the political and religious reaction of the nineteenth century. Its ghost lingers. But it haunts the purlieu of the actual; the twilight region that lies at the back of life.

¹ *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*. ‘Dedication.’

What may be called the machinery of the Church may be accepted as approved, or even ordained, by God in His providence as a means for bringing us into contact with eternal things and with Himself. But to think of it as being of the *esse* of religion is impossible. And to make the accent fall upon this authoritative, formal, and institutional element is to make Christianity what it has to so great an extent become in the Latin countries—a thing for women, and children, and the unthinking; not for men.

ALFRED FAWKES.

Watchman, What of the Night? being some thoughts on the position and Ideals of the Church of England. By R. H. MALDEN, M.A., R.N., F.R.Hist.Soc. (Macmillan & Co., 1918.)

THE most hopeful feature of what may be called the Chaplain Literature is its note of dissatisfaction. Criticism is unpopular in religious circles: it breaks in upon our dogmatic slumbers, and disturbs the comfortable belief that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. But humility is a virtue in Churches as well as in individuals; and a criticism which includes self-criticism is 'the beginning of wisdom'. It is not, indeed, its end. But the reproach of nonconstructiveness so often brought against the critic is unreasonable. He warns us that the foundation on which we are building is insecure; and, whether he can or cannot direct us to a better, we should thank him for the warning. If he can, his claim upon our gratitude is, of course, greater; but to do so is not, at least directly, his affair.

It would be a gain to clearness of thinking if every one who speaks of 'The Church' were compelled to define that elusive and manysided term. Mr Malden, as a rule, though far from invariably, means the Church of England. Even here, however, he does not avoid a certain ambiguity. By 'the Church' he certainly does not mean the clergy; and to suppose that he has in view the type of layman which at present comes to the front in Church matters would probably be to misrepresent him. Such laymen, excellent as they are in many respects, do not represent the lay element, much less the lay intelligence, of the country; they are, in Stanley's words, 'rather clergymen under another form than the real laity themselves'. Mr Malden admits that 'the idea that every Englishman should be a member of the Church of England is a very noble one'; but he warns us that, 'while we can never abandon it as an ideal, we must not make the mistake of assuming it to be the fact' (p. 76). This is, perhaps, not our danger. The slope is slippery on

each side. There are obvious difficulties in identifying the Christian Ecclesia, in whole or in part, with its members. But it may seem that the difficulties in which a narrower conception lands us are more and greater. And, in the case of the Church of England in particular, its national character is the basis of the Reformation settlement: if the National Church is transformed into a denominational Anglicanism, the Church of England, as we have hitherto known it, will disappear. To enthusiasts who find this large conception intolerable, the sects are open: this is the sufficient reason of sects as it was of the religious orders in Mediaeval Christianity. Such organizations, which are composed in theory, though by no means in fact, of a spiritual *élite*, provide a shelter for those who are ill at ease on the normal level; which is, no doubt, not an ideal one—we live in a community which is only imperfectly christianized on the religious (the Church) as on the civil (the State) side. Once this notion of the Church is grasped, such phrases as ‘the failure of the Church’, or of Christianity—like ‘the bankruptcy of science’, are seen to be misleading, not to say sophistical. What is meant is that *we* have failed to make ourselves what our conscience tells us we should be; and that in consequence the community, religious and civil—which is nothing more than the sum of the individuals who compose it—has realized itself very imperfectly: which is undoubtedly the case.

Mr Malden’s treatment of the Sacraments is suggestive. He is sensible of the problem presented by them: ‘Sacraments—be it said with all reverence—are very dangerous things’ (p. 26). But the claim which he makes for the English Church in their regard is far from being the paradox which it will appear to sacramentalists.

‘We have one achievement to our credit. We have succeeded in maintaining a higher standard with regard to the Sacraments than that of any other Christian body. We have not allowed them to be degraded to the level of pieces of magic, nor have we explained them away’ (p. 63).

He assumes the immediate institution of the two Sacraments of the Gospel by Christ; and this assumption weakens his argument against the substitution of ‘Mass’ for Mattins, in so far as this is based on the presumed intention of our Lord, for the premiss upon which it rests is disputed. But when allowance has been made for this his argument is weighty. For

‘it is a question of our fundamental attitude towards religion as a whole; really of our fundamental conception of what religion—and not by any means the Christian religion only—really is.

‘Religion is either something which we obey, or something which we can use. The difference between the two conceptions is so wide that,

though we may be hardly conscious which we have adopted, our choice must colour all our religious thought, and shape the course of all our religious life. When we have made our choice (and we cannot help making it), we have really nothing in common with any one who has chosen differently. We may remain in the same Communion and worship side by side. But it is only our superficiality which makes this possible. We are not of one heart and of one soul, though we may delude ourselves into thinking that we are' (p. 19 ff).

The difference between these two conceptions is vital. The ritual detail, to which so much attention has been directed, is insignificant in comparison. A less fundamental change would be brought about in English religion were the ceremonial of the Latin Mass generally adopted in our churches than would be effected by the Eucharist being made the principal Sunday service. It would be well if those who regard this change of usage as desirable would 'yet consider it again' in the light of Mr Malden's serious and candid treatment of the question. It would be well also were they to look to the great Communion in which the conception of religion which the English people deliberately rejected in the sixteenth century has been allowed to develop itself. The Latin Church has been more successful in bringing the sense of the supernatural home to the masses than the Reformed Churches. But the price paid for this success is great, and may well seem prohibitive. It has depreciated the currency, and changed the truth of God, if not into a lie, into something in which truth and falsehood are so blended that the former is neutralized. Hence the loss of the educated classes: as education increases, Latin Christianity declines. Nor has this lowering of intellectual values been accompanied by a rise of moral standards. It has been contended that the moral condition of Catholic countries is no argument against Catholicism. It has never been urged that it is an argument in its favour. While Catholicism concentrates upon religious observance and affective piety, its moral sense is inferior not only to that of the other Western Churches but to that of the common mind and conscience of the community. The attitude of the Papacy to the War is the result of a long process of ethical degeneration: it is 'altogether gone out of the way'.

With regard to the crucial point of episcopacy Mr Malden has got away from the tractarian, or late scholastic, view: and attempts, not very successfully, to find another which will at once avoid the historical and critical difficulties which have proved fatal to it, and safeguard the essentialness of the bishop to the Church. It is perhaps impossible to formulate such a theory of the office in question; and the English Churchman may be content to fall back upon the teaching of Hooker and Paley in the matter. The suggestion that 'the bishop is the repre-

sentative of the laity' is rather ideal than actual; but the justification of the *congé d'élire* to which an English bishop owes his see is notable.

'The nearest approach to primitive practice, expressing the true theory of the episcopate, is found at the present day in England. In England bishops are nominated by the Sovereign on the advice of the Prime Minister of the day: that is by the two laymen who may most fairly be considered to represent the entire laity of the nation. Our custom is the legitimate developement of the primitive practice among a people who make much of representative institutions' (p. 156).

In England, as elsewhere, the future, not indeed of religion, but of organized and institutional religion, is uncertain. To the great majority of our people

'While religion seems something, the sacramental system of the Prayer Book means little or nothing. . . . If the Church is to be a force in the new England in which those of us who survive the war will live, the religion of the Prayer Book has got to be built up again from the very beginning. That is a fact which the Church must face' (p. 2).

It may seem that this religion is likely to remain, for the nation at large, an ideal rather than a fact. But to the devout it is an ideal that is dear, and whose influence is not confined to our own Communion. In sacramental praxis the Presbyterian Churches have much to learn from Anglicanism: in Scotland, in particular, in the two great National Churches, the Established and the United Free, the demand for more frequent opportunities of communion is increasing, and will have to be met. But whether the use of the sacraments will become general seems uncertain. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to their becoming so is the denominationalism to which they have been made to lend themselves. Originally bonds of union, they have become marked lines of division: when we come together, it is 'not to eat the Lord's Supper'; Catholic and Protestant, Anglican and Presbyterian, 'every one taketh his own'. Now if there is one thing which seems certain—and what I have called the Chaplain Literature confirms it—it is that denominationalism, in this acute sense of the word, has no future. The historical and theological arguments which are urged for it fall flat on the understanding of our generation, which is repelled by its apparent harshness and what it takes to be its opposition to the mind of Christ. The practical difficulties in the way of overcoming it may be great; but that they shall be overcome is vital. And, though Mr Malden endorses the advice of 'a very wise religious teacher, who, when asked how the reunion of all English-speaking Christians could best be promoted, replied, "Study your differences"' (p. 235), his own reflexion is more helpful.

'The Church of England has never yet turned its back upon any avenue of knowledge. It has never claimed absolute finality for any of its own positions. It is not tied to anything as small as the Decrees of the Council of Trent, the *Institutio Divinitatis*, the Confession of Augsburg, or John Wesley's Sermons' (p. 237).

The links that connect it with the past are spirit, not letter; its face is towards the rising sun.

ALFRED FAWKES.

The World-View of the Fourth Gospel, by TH. WEARING. (University of Chicago Press, 1918.)

DOGMAIC theologies, based on the New Testament and the formularies of the first Christian centuries, have always 'assumed an identical plane for the whole of the New Testament literature'. The divines of the past have not understood that these books belong to a time when dogma was still fluid, and that the Christology of the earliest and latest of them is by no means the same. Recent criticism, in which American scholars have taken an honourable place, has endeavoured with much success to determine the ideas and convictions with which each writer approached his task, and which have inevitably coloured his narratives as well as his interpretations and reflexions. Every man, as Mr Wearing says, has his view of the world, and his paramount concern is to establish those values which are most precious to his own spiritual consciousness. It is also true, and important, that 'the most finished product in the way of a world-view cannot in the very nature of things be other than a compromise between the heritage of the past and the achievements of the present'. We cannot understand the Old Testament, or the Synoptic Gospels, without placing ourselves within the course of development which Jewish thought followed. And we cannot understand St Paul or the Fourth Gospel without the same sympathetic knowledge of the Hellenistic 'world-view', which not only mingled with the Jewish philosophy of life, but to a large extent displaced it in Catholic Christianity. The often repeated generalization that all great religions are of Oriental origin is not true. Christianity in history has been the least Oriental of all religions, and has never taken firm root in Asiatic soil. This conflict of ideas was not clearly defined in the first century. In the New Testament the practical religious purpose is dominant over speculative thought, and we find, as we might expect, widely disparate elements even in a single book, and modes of expression familiar to different groups in the Levant, all of which were being brought under Christian influence. This is conspicuously true of the Fourth Gospel.

Mr Wearing illustrates this syncretism by the variety of meanings which the word *κόσμος* bears in the Gospel, and by the eschatology in which Platonic and Stoic doctrines, and the technical terms of the mystery-cults, which determine the whole character of the teaching and much of its terminology, form 'a sort of *mésalliance*' with relics of Palestinian Judaism. The Messianic type of Christology, itself an interpretation of the pure prophetism of the original Gospel as given in the Logia, is tacitly abandoned in the Fourth Gospel, which thus carries to its logical consequence the process of change which can be easily traced in St Paul. 'For the Johannine writer the values of life do not depend on a cessation of the present order. He does not need to look forward to a last day with a resurrection of the physical body, as did the Jewish Pharisees, or of a glorified body, as did St Paul. The destiny of the universe is not associated with a coming cataclysm.' In the few instances in which Jewish eschatological ideas are asserted, they occur in conjunction with material which deprives them of future significance. Those who believe on Jesus have already passed from death unto life. The hour cometh, yea now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live. And Martha's belief in 'the resurrection at the last day' is expressly corrected in the words 'I am the resurrection and the life'. The second coming of Christ, which had been the centre of Jewish-Christian hopes, does not appear in the Fourth Gospel (apart from the Appendix) at all. Eternal life has already begun for all who believe in Christ; it is a life which is not interrupted by death, and which in consequence needs no bodily resurrection to establish it. The coming of the Spirit is dated from the day of the Resurrection; no Pentecost is necessary, and no Apocalyptic kingdom need be expected.

The Evangelist is also a Hellenist in his complete indifference to racial and political questions. He is a mystic of the later Platonic school. The cosmic order is only a symbol of the eternal order, and its meaning is only discerned when earthly events are contemplated *sub specie aeternitatis*. 'Man makes his escape from the world, not by the vestibule of death, in the physical sense, but by the path of knowledge which leads out of the death of error and darkness into the life of truth and light.' Life eternal is to know the only true God. He that believeth hath eternal life. The communion of the believer with the Logos-Christ is sustained by the Christian mysteries. Baptism is the door into the sheepfold; the sacred meal (though 'the flesh profiteth nothing') is the efficacious sign of our spiritual union with Christ. Thus the mystery-cults, with which the Hellenistic world was familiar, form a bridge between the Christ of history and the mystical worship of the indwelling Logos. The Incarnation itself was a great sacrament.

There are only a very few points in which I venture to differ from this excellent essay. I do not think that the opening words of the Prologue imply a 'definite beginning' of the world in time (p. 19). The horror of marriage and procreation which the author attributes to St Paul (p. 28) appears to me very much exaggerated. I do not think that the references of the evangelist to the 'word' or the 'words' of Christ have any cryptic or esoteric suggestion (p. 50). Spiritual things are spiritually discerned; but I do not find any clear traces of a *disciplina arcani* in the Fourth Gospel.

The concluding words of the essay may be quoted as indicative of the author's intention. 'If modern life in all its phases is to feel more potently the impact of Christianity as a religious movement of supreme worth, this religion must be loosened from the bondage, ecclesiastical or otherwise, which inevitably prevents its being regarded as an integral part of human development. Only as this is effected can Christianity with its many rich and varied elements come into true perspective as marking out a pathway of vital religious experience trod by Jesus and his followers.'

W. R. INGE.

The Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels, by THOMAS JAMES THORBURN, D.D., LL.D. (T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1916.)

A FORMER lieutenant-governor of Illinois must be credited with all laudable intentions when, upwards of fifty years ago, he established a fund with the express object of stimulating 'the best efforts' of 'the scientific men, the Christian philosophers, and historians of all nations' for the production of books or treatises on subjects bearing on the Christian religion; and it was in 1913 that, taking action in terms of the deed of gift, the trustees of Lake Forest University put forth their second invitation to the world's scholarship. Whether the response elicited was numerous and distinguished is, of course, their secret; anyhow the author of these 'Critical Studies in the Historic Narratives' was declared master of the field—is not his title-page headed 'The Bross Prize, 1915'?

As Dr Thorburn informs us in his preface, it was an after-thought on his part to submit a work which, long in hand, had practically arrived at completion when the competition was announced. Wide indeed is the ground this time covered by him; no longer content to demolish certain wild theories which see in Jesus a wholly fictitious personage—I am here mindful of yeoman service done by him in his book entitled *Jesus the Christ, Historical or Mythical*—he now takes the Gospel

stories *seriatim*, and, while ever and again offering his own open-minded interpretation of event or circumstance which this or that Evangelist purports to relate, he contends with much show of forcefulness for their substantial historicity. Many a so-called parallel is justly dismissed by him as 'forced and artificial'; himself concerned for 'evidence' he looks askance at what is 'mere unsubstantiated speculation'; speaking generally, he has a keen eye for weak points in those who, from one or other standpoint, have essayed to resolve the Gospel narratives into myth or pure legend. It is perhaps strange that he nowhere alludes to Albert Kalthoff, nor is there very frequent reference to F. C. Conybeare—the latter, by the way, staunch to uphold the historicity of Jesus against 'the chimeras of Messrs Drews, Robertson, and Benjamin Smith' (*The Historical Christ*, p. 9); in some of his lengthy excerpts from, e. g. Strauss and Drews, he no doubt leans heavily on translations, yet unquestionably he has first-hand knowledge of the great bulk of the writers he quotes. He is equipped with much classic lore, the mystery-religions have been surveyed by him, he can turn from astronomy to astrology, not himself an Assyriologist he is familiar with the experts; he is to some extent versed in Arabian and Semitic literature. It might occur to some to say of Dr Thorburn that he has taken all knowledge for his province; for myself I cannot but dwell on the width of research illustrated by the pages of his book.

It is a big book. The work of a laborious and conscientious student, it is crowded with interesting matter; not exactly easy reading, it well repays perusal if doubt occasionally arises whether it be really worth while to give so much patient attention to theories often fantastic and improbable to a degree; it should serve a useful purpose. I am nevertheless inclined to add that if many a shrewd blow be dealt out, and deservedly, by its author, yet he himself is sometimes open to rejoinders, and invites question whether he be an altogether safe guide in the field of Gospel criticism. Thus, e. g. (p. 26, note 1) he writes: 'it is more strictly correct to say that the Matthaean and Lucan narratives here are intended by their compilers to be complementary, Luke dealing generally with the incidents of the annunciation and conception from a different standpoint, and also, in general, inserting much that Matthew omits.' Does Dr Thorburn really mean to imply that the First and Third Evangelists wrote in collaboration, that their respective Gospels were the outcome of deliberation between themselves—over the table?

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

A Manual of Modern Scholastic Philosophy. By CARDINAL MERCIER and Professors of the Higher Institute of Philosophy, Louvain. Translated by T. L. PARKER, M.A., and S. A. PARKER, O.S.B., M.A. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1917; St Louis: B. Herder Book Co.)

WHAT is a 'manual'? When it consists of two ponderous volumes, containing in all some 1,100 pages of nearly 400 words apiece, it would seem that etymology at least has no answer. Even the French title, *Traité Élémentaire de Philosophie*, is a shade too modest for this treatise, or compilation of treatises, *de omnibus rebus*, which was in use at Louvain before the tragic interruption of August 1914. Orthodoxy is not claimed for any system of philosophy, but it is fair to suppose that we have here a more or less authoritative exposition of the intellectual principles most favoured in the Roman Church of to-day. From what point of view to criticize it is, however, not easy to decide. The venerable author and his collaborators know their business thoroughly. That is to say, they are well versed in the writings of Aquinas, they are aware that modern knowledge cannot be neglected, and they profess themselves ready to welcome all discoveries and inventions which human reason, unaided and unhindered by revealed theology, can legitimately establish. The programme is extensive, the principles unimpeachable. Why is it, then, that the result is so pinched and barren, so musty and remote? For such, we cannot doubt, will be the impression left on the mind of most readers who have not been educated from infancy to receive this particular kind of nourishment. Outside the charmed circle of seminarists, it will seem that what is offered us in all these earnest and diligent chapters is not the free and ample discourse of philosophy, but an antique diagram of the human mind, embellished with an unfamiliar jargon and comparable only to those forgotten charts of the habitable globe which point the traveller to the passage between Scylla and Charybdis and drive him on to the impassable pillars of Hercules. Where lies the fault? In the arrogance of an age which has too long neglected Aquinas, or in some deep historical revolution which, for good or ill, has carried human speculation beyond the range of the scholastic method? The answer will not be found in detailed criticism of the various sections of the book. Some of these may be better, others worse; but only by elucidating the principles which govern the whole shall we account for the dissatisfaction with modern scholasticism experienced even by those who are ready to pay tribute to the genius of Thomas Aquinas. First, then, we should argue that the whole nature of philosophy, its method and its function, is radically misconceived. 'Since philosophy embraces

all things', says the Cardinal, 'its formal object must be common to everything, and therefore it must be very simple, the simplest possible, drawn by abstraction from the very depths of reality' (vol. i p. 9). Scattered through the book are scores of passages to this same effect, that the glory of man's mind is the power of abstraction, and that metaphysics, the crown of philosophy, attains to its end by outdoing mathematics and physics in the art of stripping away the living garment of quality until the corpse of 'being' is exposed. In reply one can only protest, or even assert dogmatically, that the true road of philosophy lies precisely in the opposite direction. The construction of an abstract object is doubtless the beginning of science, but it is only the beginning, and so long as the mind is occupied with abstractions it is merely lingering on the lowest level of achievement. It might, of course, be objected that this cult of the abstract is not peculiar to neo-scholasticism, and our criticism passes to a second stage when we perceive the special difficulty of combining the ideal of abstraction with the Aristotelian doctrine of the individual substance. 'How', says Cardinal Mercier himself, 'can an individual thing be the object of a science that is by definition the most abstract of the sciences?' In the author's answer to his own question we shall detect no retreat from his main conception of philosophy, but we may find a clue to some further reflexions. It may occur to us that a fundamental weakness of the new scholasticism is its imperfect criticism, not merely of later and less acceptable philosophers, but, above all, of Aristotle himself. At Louvain it might almost savour of heresy to suggest that Aristotle, with all his genius, had no great gift for metaphysics. Such, however, we believe to be the fact. Too profound a thinker to suppose that physical science could exhaust the activity of reason, he yet remained in temper and in outlook a man of science. Plato's attack on the sacrosanct ἀρχαί he never rightly understood, and in his own search for a doctrine of substance which should leave every science unique and inviolable he got himself into a muddle from which neither he nor his followers have ever emerged. Criticism of the new scholastics does not, however, depend upon any repudiation of Aristotle. On the contrary, we should prefer to dwell on the numerous failures to do justice to Aristotle's position, and not least in this very problem of abstract and concrete which we have accepted as fundamental. 'The object of sense', we are told, 'is a *particular, concrete, singular individual*' (vol. i p. 241). But is it? Not if Aristotle is to be trusted. You may quote fifty passages in which he seems to say so, yet every serious student knows that eventually Aristotle reverts, as the basis of his whole theory of knowledge, to a doctrine of αἰσθησις in which the singular concrete object (i. e. the physical body) becomes almost

accidental, and the conclusion at last presented to us is that the lower animals move in a world of generalities, while man alone can rise to an occasional glimpse of the individual. This imperfect estimate of Aristotle, which has prevailed so long in scholastic circles, has too often been the unconscious prelude to a more studied depreciation of the general history of philosophy. Yet even a *catalogus errorum* has its rights. It is fair, at least, to ask that the errors should be faithfully reported. As it is, most of the criticisms hurled by our authors at the unfortunate people who do not happen to be Aristotle or Aquinas fall lamentably wide of the mark. Set aside the modern philosophers who would naturally be suspect, and take but the single case of Plato. What can be said of a criticism which refers to the 'ideas' as 'ready-made notions', or which, in another passage, shovels Descartes and Plato into a common heap? Whether it be Aristotle or others who suffer by it, the effect of so much random judgement is to provoke yet another question, and one which strikes at the very roots of the Louvain position. For we may well ask whether the modern scholastics have any sound claim to represent the spirit of Aquinas. Of nothing could that great man be less fairly accused than of antiquarianism in philosophy. By a strange series of historical accidents his vindication of an ancient philosopher was, in effect, a plea for a system which had lately burst upon the western world with the force of a modern revelation. More than this, it was a plea for freedom of thought within the Christian Church. A principle rather than an author was involved, and if in succeeding centuries the melancholy consequence was that the weight of the author submerged the principle, the fault belongs far less to Aquinas than to his pedantic disciples. Modern scholasticism is itself a revival, not a mere stage in an unbroken tradition; but, with the best intentions, it brings no impulse to fresh speculation and begins already to wear a perilous resemblance to one of those cults of the obsolete which arise from time to time. Defective as are all such analogies, the philosophers of Louvain would have come nearer to the temper of Aquinas if they had concerned themselves with nothing more ancient than Darwinism, or had even proclaimed their allegiance to Bergson or Croce. Instead of this, they not only invite us to embrace defunct ideas, but, against their will, go far towards convincing us that the Church is, after all, committed to a dogmatic philosophy. That conviction is by no means removed by the admirable sentiments professed here and there by the Cardinal and his friends. They repudiate mediaevalism (see the note to vol. i pp. 30-31) as eagerly as they condemn persecution (vol. ii p. 277), and they no more avoid the one than the Church in the past has avoided the other. They are in fetters, and know it not. For a true way of escape they must face

anew the problem which Aquinas solved with a noble courage for his own generation, but has not solved for us. By his partition of spheres he seemed to gain a space for philosophy, without prejudice to theological rights. But it proved to be only a breathing-space before the battle broke out again. In the end philosophy and theology cannot fall apart with mutual expressions of regard. Both claim to be ultimate explanations of the world, and the Christian theology (*any* Christian theology) is itself a philosophy with which others cannot be wholly reconciled. To say that these others cannot be *proved* is to say nothing. 'Proof' is a cant word fashionable in certain departments of abstract thinking, but to any serious attempt to comprehend the universe it has no application whatsoever. Theologies and philosophies are competitors in the pursuit of the indemonstrable. No one of them can be adopted without partial or complete rejection of the others. Why then cling so long to old compromises and fond delusions? We cannot dodge the difficulty. We cannot, except for minor purposes, map out the world of thought into impervious allotments. The choice lies at last between the complacency of babes and sucklings and the gladiatorial fray.

W. H. V. READE.

The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text: A new translation.
(Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.
London: George Routledge and Sons, 5677 [A. M.]—1917 [A. D.]

THE *raison d'être* of this book is well stated in a single sentence in the Preface. 'The present translation is the first for which a group of men representative of Jewish learning among English-speaking Jews assume joint responsibility, all previous efforts in the English language having been the work of individual translators.' The translators have in fact taken a step towards providing an Authorized Version for English-speaking Jews. Such a book as this, we can imagine, might receive temporary authorization from the Jewish authorities in the United States and in the British dominions until further revision had produced a version which might be described as 'received by all'.

The translation is worthy to receive some official sanction. While it contains little or nothing that is startling, it is marked by new renderings and by changes of English which taken together amount to a very great improvement on King James's version.

The arrangement of the books follows (of course) the Hebrew: Law, Earlier Prophets, Later Prophets, the Writings (beginning with Psalms and ending with Chronicles). The text is printed in sections, but the ordinary chapters and verses are marked. Further, the arrangement of

poetical passages in lines of parallelism is carried out far more fully than in the Revised Version of 1885; thus, in the book of Isaiah, in chs. xxi-xxxv inclusive, only a very few verses are printed as prose. On the other hand, the translators have been wise in putting only a very little of Ezekiel into lines of verse.

Marginal notes are very few, and alternative renderings are not given. This seems to the reviewer a fault, which at times becomes serious.

The English of the translators is generally good, though somewhat freer than in the revision of 1885:—

Gen. i 2. 'The spirit of God hovered (moved) over the face of the waters.'

Isa. ii 6. 'They please themselves in the brood of aliens.'

Isa. lxxv 25. 'Dust shall be the serpent's food (meat).'

There are many interesting renderings, some of which did not advance beyond the margin of the R. V. of 1885.

2 Kings vi 33. 'And [the king] said: Behold this evil is of the LORD.'

(The insertion of the subject is a clear improvement.)

Isa. lii 15. 'So shall he startle many nations' (= R. V. marg.).

(Very doubtful: a marginal note is to be desired.)

Ezek. xxxvii 9. 'Prophecy unto the breath, prophecy, son of man, and say to the breath.'

In some passages it is very difficult to feel satisfied with the new translation.

Ps. ii 12. 'Do homage in purity, lest He be angry.'

Is this indeed *according to the Masoretic text*? The construction presupposed is extremely harsh, to say the least.

Deut. xvi 7. 'And thou shall roast' (= וּבִשְׁלַת). Surely this is not a rendering to be given without apology. Even the LXX blushes here, καὶ ἐψήσεις καὶ ὀπτήσεις. R.V. marg., 'seethe'.

Isa. viii 23. 'The former hath lightly afflicted . . . but the latter hath dealt a more grievous blow.'

This rendering is substantially that of A. V., but it was wisely superseded in R. V.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Deuteronomy, by SIR G. ADAM SMITH, Principal of the University of Aberdeen; *Joshua*, by G. A. COOKE, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; *Obadiah and Jonah*, by H. C. O. LANCHESTER, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1918.)

DEUTERONOMY receives a very full treatment, 390 pages of Commentary and 122 pages of Introduction. Moreover, these are crowded

pages, a considerable amount of small print being used. The book is one to be set for its importance beside Driver's well-known work.

The Introduction contains a full and discriminating account of the dogmatic and ethical teaching of Deuteronomy (pp. xxvi-xxxix). In discussing the relation between Deuteronomy and the Law-Book of Josiah Sir G. A. Smith takes a firm stand, maintaining their identity 'in whole or part'. He rejects Professor Kennett's argument for dating Deuteronomy later than the reign of Josiah (*J. T. S.* July 1906). Some sixteen pages are devoted to an investigation of the interchange of the plural and singular forms of address. It is disturbing to some minds to read in xiv 1:

'Ye are the children of JEHOVAH your God: ye shall not cut yourselves' &c.,

and then in *vv.* 2, 3:

'For thou art an holy people unto JEHOVAH thy God: . . . Thou shalt not eat' &c.

So Cornill (in 1891) 'stamped some of the laws as secondary, because they use the pl. form'.

Sir G. A. Smith comes to the cautious conclusion that 'no one can maintain that the difference between the sing. and pl. forms *never* indicates a difference of hand.'

The Commentary itself is of course good. The geographical notes are full and helpful, particularly for chs. i-iii. Dr Smith is disposed to doubt the existence of the 'Sons of the Anakim' (in i 28). Even his short notes are instructive, e. g. on viii 9 (iron) and xxvii 2 (plastering stones). On xxiv 1 (*some unseemly thing*) the Reviewer is unable to agree with the Commentator. The literal rendering is 'nakedness of a thing', and the phrase is parallel to 'nakedness of the land' in Gen. xlii 9, i. e. 'some weak point'. So the expression in Deut. has no reference to 'indecentcy', but in the most general way to faultiness. If the Israelite husband finds in his wife 'some weak point', anything indeed which is a fault in his eyes, he is allowed by ancient custom to divorce her. This is the presupposition on which the Legislator proceeds. The law of xxiv 1 leaves untouched the causes for divorce: it is procedure which is regulated. The wife, whether she be an adulteress or merely a *persona ingrata* to her husband, cannot be turned out with a word or a curse. The husband must write a document or get one written, and the ~~wife~~ *is* to have custody of it, not the man. *An authority higher than the husband has begun to take cognizance of Divorce.*

On p. lv of the Introduction there is a slip in statement. The word *torah*, 'weight', is said to occur only in Deut. i 12; Isa. i 14 ~~is not~~ overlooked.

JOSHUA is not so interesting a book as Deuteronomy, but Dr Cooke's Introduction and notes contain much that is attractive to the student of O. T. Of course P R^d J E assert themselves in these pages, but a footnote finds room for Coventry Patmore and H. G. Wells. Historical difficulties are faced, e. g. as to the circumcision of the people at Gilgal (p. 37) and the convocation of Israel at Shechem (p. 213). The notes are brief but good, and due consideration is given to archaeology. Dr Cooke ascribes great importance to the LXX version, believing that it represents a different form of the Hebrew text (pp. ix, x). On p. ix 'G.' Holmes should be 'S.'

OBADIAH AND JONAH. There is a good deal of good work in this book, but it shews signs of haste and needs revision in detail. The notes are perhaps too homiletic in form.

On p. 23 a 'von' (for a 'van') is given to the Belgian scholar, A. van Hoonacker; and Mr Lanchester omits to say that van H.'s work is in French. On p. 52 'Esarhaddon' should be 'Asshur-bani-pal'. On p. 53 it should not be said that Benjamin of Tudela (A. D. 1160) 'conjectured' that the ruins on the Tigris opposite to Mosul were those of Nineveh: he asserts it positively. A reference should be added to p. 34 of M. N. Adler's edition of *Benjamin* (London, 1907). On p. 60 (the story of Mittavindaka) reference should be given to E. B. Cowell. *Jātakas*, Book x, no. 439, and not to Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (one volume edition). On p. 69 the statement about Herodotus needs recasting; the historian does not state that *kiki* is the *kikayon* of the Book of Jonah. '*Sirocco*, an Arabic word meaning "east"' (p. 70) is too summary in statement. The note on the six-score thousand persons (iv 11) is rather off the mark. The Heb. is (literally rendered) 'more than twelve myriads of human beings (*Adam*)'. The 'twelve' glances perhaps at the twelve tribes of Israel, with some contrast intended between Israel and the inhabitants of this gentile city. 'Myriad' is not to be taken arithmetically, and no census of the inhabitants can be founded on the phrase. Mr Lanchester's Introductions to the two prophets are useful and interesting.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Harvard Theological Studies, III: Ephod and Ark, by WILLIAM R. ARNOLD. (Cambridge, U.S.A., 1917.)

THIS is the work of an iconoclast, but there is constructive matter in it, and it should be read by students of the O. T. Professor Arnold has no idols, neither the M. T., nor the LXX, nor the dominant school of criticism. He breaks each in turn. His tone is scornful, but his matter deserves respect.

He starts from the well-known *crux*, 1 Sam. xiv 18, 'And Saul said unto Ahijah, Bring near the ark of God, for the ark of God was on that day and (*sic* /) the children of Israel'. The LXX has καὶ εἶπεν Σ. τῷ 'Α. Προσάγαγε τὸ ἐφούδ· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦρεν τὸ ἐφούδ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐνώπιον 'Ι. Since the *ephod* has been mentioned already in v. 3 it is as easy to accept the text suggested by the LXX as to stroke a cat. All is so smooth. So Thenius led the way in 1842 and Wellhausen, Reuss, Klostermann, Driver, H. P. Smith, Nowack, Budde, Kittel, and Dhorme—Germans, French, Alsatians, Americans, and English—followed. But now Prof. Arnold has awakened two sleeping dogs. He reminds us once more that (1) the word *ephod* has difficulties of its own; if it be a linen garment (1 Sam. ii 18), can it be also an instrument of divination which sometimes attained the weight of 28 kilogrammes? (Jud. viii 26 f); (2) the ark itself was used for making enquiry of JEHOVAH, Jud. xx 27 f. (Arnold, it may be observed, allows no authority to the statements of the Pentateuch as regards the ark, and the critics whom he opposes can hardly condemn him for this refusal.) The Professor then proceeds to adopt the LXX reading of 1 Sam. xiv 18 except in its most important word. He maintains that 'ark' not 'ephod' is the original reading.

But it may be objected that the ark rested permanently at Kiriath-jearim from before the accession of Saul until David was firmly established on his throne: 1 Sam. vii 1, 2; 2 Sam. vi 2 ff. But Prof. Arnold has the courage of his opinion. He notes that 'Ark of God' is sometimes made definite by the addition of the article, sometimes not. In the latter case he translates the Hebrew expression by 'sacred box', holding that there were a number of such 'sacred boxes'. This does not prevent one of them being better known than the rest, so that it was referred to as 'the box' or 'the box of God'.

These boxes, Prof. Arnold holds, contained the sacred lot. The size varied: one might be small enough to be carried about by a priest. As for the *ephod* its connexion with the sacred lot is denied: Exod. xxviii 28 ff has no authority according to our author. Where enquiry of JEHOVAH is referred to *ephod* is to be emended to *ark*. For Arnold an *ephod* is only a linen garment.

The essay is suggestive and the thesis contained in it deserves careful examination. It is a pity that the author is so scornful; his scorn may prejudice some of his readers against his fresh and interesting work.

W. EMERY BARNES.

The Text of the Old Testament, by ÉDOUARD NAVILLE. The Schweich Lectures, 1915.

WOULD that Naville had followed Astruc in entitling his work 'Conjectures'. Here is plenty of suggestion, but little argument. When we have said that the author is probably right in maintaining that documents in cuneiform played an important part in the earliest literary history of the Pentateuch, we have probably granted all that can be reasonably allowed as proved by Dr Naville.

The author's main principle is that nothing counts except the literary language. Now the literary language of Mesopotamia, whence Abraham came, was Babylonian cuneiform, and the literary language of Canaan, to which he came, was again Babylonian cuneiform. In proof of this Naville is content to appeal to the language in which the Tell-el-Amarna tablets are written. Moses must have written Babylonian cuneiform because at that time there was no other literary language in Western Asia. But by the time of Isaiah 'Aramaic' had become the literary language of Canaan (2 Kings xviii 26), and consequently Isaiah and the other writing prophets must have written their prophecies in Aramaic. After the Return Ezra must have turned the Law into Aramaic. The proof of the position occupied by Aramaic in Canaan lies in the use of Aramaic in the Elephantine papyri: if the Jews used Aramaic in Egypt, they must have brought it from their own country. The sacred books were at last turned into 'Jewish' written in square characters—our 'Hebrew'. Why? Because, shortly before the Christian era the rabbis were determined to break absolutely with other peoples, specially with their nearest neighbours, who spoke Aramaic. So we get our present Hebrew Bible. Dr Naville says stoutly, 'Hypotheses non fingo'. His main positions seem to the reviewer unproven, hardly beginning to be proved in fact, but his book contains many acute observations. It is worth reading.

W. EMERY BARNES.

The Golden Days of the Early English Church. By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH. 3 vols. (London: Murray. 1917.)

THIS handsome and well-illustrated work continues the two previous volumes of Sir Henry Howorth, and closely resembles them. Errors, numerous, serious, and often elementary, especially in the rendering of Latin, are abundant, and the writer has done himself the injustice of neglecting recent and important literature on his subject. The origin of the parish and of its priest receives none of the light cast upon

it by Imbart de la Tour and Stutz ; Mr Stenton's work on Abingdon is ignored, and the author, who does not know Mr W. H. Stevenson's edition, talks of 'Pseudo-Asser'. But the story is told in an interesting way, and not the least attractive part consists in digressions which are often somewhat irrelevant. Sir Henry borrows freely, as from Professors Baldwin Brown and Bury, and much of his work is, as it ought to be, a transcript of Bede and Eddius, with an abundance of archaeology and relic-lore thrown in. Experience of the world and native shrewdness often make his comments valuable, as when he interprets the silences of Bede ; but shrewdness, imperfectly informed, may degenerate into undue suspiciousness, and the author will find no followers in his rejection of laws and charters on the ground of a style which he disapproves. He has not, in fact, the special knowledge necessary for the detailed treatment of a difficult period.

E. W. WATSON.

The Pauline Idea of Faith in its relation to Jewish and Hellenistic Religion, by W. H. P. HATCH, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of the Language and Literature of the New Testament in the General Theological Seminary, New York. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press : London, Oxford University Press : 1917.)

THIS book comes from the far side of the Atlantic and is marked by the excellences as well as by some of the weaknesses which we have learnt to associate with the work of what may be called the American School of Theology. It was written primarily as one of the theses demanded for the Doctorate of Divinity by the Graduate Faculty of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and is now issued as the second volume of the 'Harvard Theological Studies'. The book opens with a full and valuable sketch of the history of faith, regarded as 'trust in God', in the various stages represented by the Old Testament, the LXX, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and Rabbinical Literature, to which is added a brief exposition of our Lord's teaching upon faith and of what faith meant to the primitive Christian community. We are shewn how all through the centuries trust in Jahveh was the most vital element in Hebrew and Jewish piety. In the Old Testament, under different figures and metaphors, such as 'waiting or looking for', 'leaning upon', 'taking refuge in', 'cleaving or clinging to' there is expressed the Hebrew's idea of faith, his unwavering confidence and whole-hearted reliance upon God, conceived as the Father of his people. So again in the LXX, although in many cases no attempt has been made to preserve the metaphors and *nuances* of the original, the idea of trusting in God is faithfully

represented. In later days, represented by the Priestly Code in the Old Testament and by the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, when Judaism began to be dominated by the idea that fidelity to the Law was the supreme demand of religion and the one comprehensive virtue, trust in the Law threatened to displace trust in God in actual practice. But that the pious-minded Jew still clung to his trust in God and that this remained for him the root from which his piety sprang is clear from the important place that the theme occupies in the literature of the period. This is also true of Rabbinical Literature, in which, in spite of the fact that the Law was the very corner-stone of Rabbinical Judaism, faith in Jahveh is never lacking and a very high religious value is placed upon it.

It is only when we come to our author's views upon the rôle which faith and trust in God played in the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth that I find myself not in complete accord with him. He starts with the assumption that many of the sayings of Jesus which appear to inculcate the practice of faith towards Himself are the reflexions of early Christian thought and not His own genuine utterances. The Fourth Gospel is ruled out of court as evidence of what He may have taught on this matter, and many sayings in the Synoptic Gospels which support the hypothesis that He did on occasions demand faith and trust in Himself, such as Matt. xviii 6, Mk. i 15, Lk. viii 12, are cast aside as unauthentic. We are told that 'Jesus never asked his disciples to trust in himself nor did he demand of them faith in his own person' (p. 24). In this particular matter I prefer to follow another distinguished American scholar, Professor B. B. Warfield, who writes as follows: 'All that Jesus did and taught was directed to drawing faith to Himself. . . . Even when He spoke of general faith in God and that confident trust which becomes men approaching the Almighty in prayer, He did it in a way which inevitably directed attention to His own person as the representative of God upon earth' (H. D. B. vol. i. p. 833).

In the second chapter, which forms the main section of the volume, we reach the subject which suggested the title of the book, viz. 'The Pauline idea of faith'. In St Paul faith has progressed beyond the bounds within which it was confined in Hebrew and Jewish piety. It has now become intellectual as well as emotional and ethical, and is concerned with the intellect as well as with the feelings and the will. And more than all, the Pauline faith is essentially mystical. Dr Hatch conceives of the faith of St Paul as almost exclusively *faith-mysticism*, and it is, consequently, on a different plane from the conception of faith as 'trust in God' which was characteristic of the earlier Hebrew and Jewish religion, in which, according to Dr Hatch, there was no mystical

element strictly so called. The Apostle's faith then, as presented here, was mainly the medium by which he entered into mystical fellowship with Christ and was itself the mystical state in which he lived. To be a Christian in St Paul's sense of the term is to be 'in Christ', and Christ is identified with the divine Spirit, so that Christ becomes the divine Spirit in him and he can say that he no longer lives but that Christ lives in him. In this mystical union there are two fundamental ideas—control by the divine Spirit and divinization (pneumatization). Further, for the Apostle faith is a social bond among those who are Christ's as well as the divine gift to the individual, and it is the channel through which flow the Christian's distinctive blessings—peace with God, hope for the future, joy, justification or forgiveness, and salvation. Now this is excellent as far as it goes, but an exposition of the Pauline idea of faith which all but completely ignores what we have learnt to regard as the specific and characteristic mark of it, viz. its relation to the doctrine of the Atonement, cannot be pronounced either complete or adequate. It may be true that the Pauline faith has in the past been associated too exclusively with the doctrine of justification, while other and important aspects of the Apostle's teaching upon faith were relegated to the background; but there is a lamentable lack of proportion in any interpretation of St Paul's faith which contains only one brief paragraph bearing on its fundamental relation to the redemption wrought in the death of Christ and not a single reference to its connexion with the Cross of Christ. In the very passage quoted by Dr Hatch as containing the Apostle's fundamental conception of the function of faith, Gal. ii 20, 'I live, and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me' the Cross is dominant, because the quotation is governed by the preceding clause, 'I have been crucified with Christ'. Again the faith in which the Apostle lives is described later in the same verse as 'the faith which is in the Son of God, *who loved me and gave himself up for me*', a description which is not completely covered by the conception of faith as the mystical state in which the believer lives. It may be safely stated, that, whether expressed or not, the thought of the redemptive death of Christ is seldom separated from St Paul's view of the fundamental meaning of Christian faith. Dr Hatch's one-sided emphasis upon the mystical quality of St Paul's faith enables him to add one more constituent of the Pauline teaching to the many which it is now fashionable to attribute to the influence of his Hellenistic environment. It is not easy to find in Hellenistic religion anything that closely corresponds to the Pauline doctrine of the Atonement, but once you divorce the Apostle's conception of faith from its relation to that doctrine and transform it into a faith-mysticism, pure and simple, there may be plausible grounds

for assuming the presence of Hellenistic influences in his thought. And this is exactly what Dr Hatch has done. He tells us that 'the Pauline idea of faith was developed out of trust in Jahveh, but the Apostle, who was reared in the Hellenistic city of Tarsus and spent most of his life in the Graeco-Roman world, imparted to it a mystical character which trust in God had never had on Palestinian soil and made it fundamental in religion and ethics' (p. 82). Dr Hatch adds that there is nothing that actually corresponds to the Apostle's conception of faith in any particular form of Hellenistic religion, whether in the state religions of Greece, in Stoicism, or in the mystery cults, and that it is highly improbable that Philo's conception of faith in any way affected St Paul's view of it, but that the Apostle absorbed his mysticism in a perfectly natural and partly unconscious way from his Graeco-Roman environment in which mysticism was a very prominent and important factor (p. 66). This is surely a very nebulous conclusion to arrive at and hardly justifies the truncating of the Apostle's idea of faith which Dr Hatch finds it necessary to resort to. It is also a moot point whether even the mystical side of St Paul's faith is not a direct inheritance from Hebrew and Jewish religion. Dr. Hatch categorically denies that there is any trace of mysticism in the idea of trust in God as it is found in the Old Testament and later Judaistic literature. On the other hand, a greater authority than he on the Jew and his religion, Dr Abelson, is equally positive that the most highly elaborated mystical doctrines of the Jews in all ages are the offshoot of Old Testament teaching (*Jewish Mysticism* p. 9), and that the Hebrew prophets and Psalmists were mystics in the widest sense of the term. It would seem, therefore, that it is not necessary to attribute the mystic in St. Paul to any influence other than that of his upbringing and training as a pious Jew. Dr Hatch gives us a most suggestive and sympathetic review of the faith and religions of the Graeco-Roman world, but it does not throw much light upon the origin of the Pauline idea of faith beyond demonstrating very clearly that it is not to be discovered in that *milieu*. Finally, it is refreshing to find an American theologian of standing expressing the opinion (p. 85) that it is in the highest degree inaccurate and misleading to call Pauline Christianity a mystery religion.

MAURICE JONES.

Kirkehistoriske Læsestykker. I. Oldtid og Middelalder. By HELGE HAAR and JENS NØRREGAARD. København, Forlagt af V. Pios Boghandel (Povl Branner), 1915.)

In this short volume two Danish scholars—one of whom, Hr. Jens Nørregaard, is not unknown in Britain—have compiled a valuable anthology of short extracts from classical patristic and mediaeval sources, translated into Danish, to illustrate Church history. The notes are admirably concise, clear, and to the point. Probably no book of the same character covering the same ground exists in English. No textbook of history, however excellent, can take the place of the original sources; and to those who cannot procure or have no space to store a library of patristic and mediaeval literature, but yet desire to obtain some degree of familiarity with the spirit of those ages, such a volume should be very useful. Although primarily intended as a schoolbook, it is no less suitable for the general public. All the pieces chosen are interesting and important. But in a short volume covering a period from the first to the fifteenth century it is obviously impossible to quote extensively from any one author; and opinions will differ as to which authors and which passages from them it is most desirable to select. There are, as there were bound to be, quotations from the Letters of St Ignatius and the *Confessions* of St Augustine; and in the Mediaeval section, St Bernard and St Francis of Assisi are represented. But St Athanasius, the Cappodocians, and St Anselm, who have, one would think, an equal claim to notice, are quite ignored. The reason for the omission is to be found in the words of the preface, 'De udvalgte Kildesteder er ikke sammenstillede efter systematiske eller dogmatiske Hensyn' ('The passages selected from the sources are not arranged according to systematic or dogmatic design'). Their interest is in fact psychological, as in the case of the passage quoted from St Jerome on pp. 40, 41 (*Ep.* xxii 30), or descriptive and dramatic—for instance, the account of Charlemagne, the narrative of the submission at Canossa, and that of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders—rather than doctrinal. An excellent feature of the volume is the inclusion of a few of the greatest mediaeval hymns, *Dies Irae*, *Lauda Sion*, and *Stabat Mater*. The plan of the compilers is to bring out a second volume in illustration of modern and recent Church History, and to conclude with one on Denmark. In view of the neglect of Church History in the educational system of this country, the work of these Danish scholars is certainly worthy of notice. Is it too much to hope that their example may be followed?

C. T. HARLEY WALKER.

Dominus Noster: a study in the progressive recognition of Jesus Christ our Lord, by CHARLES A. ANDERSON SCOTT, M.A. (Camb.), D.D. (Aber.). (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, 1918.)

DR SCOTT'S object is to unfold the process of thought by which the original disciples of Jesus were led to the recognition of His Deity. This must have been for them, as he says, peculiarly difficult by reason of the strength of their monotheism. Yet within a surprisingly short interval the road had been travelled and the conclusion reached. In the Apocalypse, where the Church's faith still retains its original character of an apocalyptic hope, Jesus is seen seated with the Father upon the throne of the world, and with the Father is the object of worship and adoration. The ultimate Gospel reaches its conclusion in the confession of the doubting Apostle: 'My Lord and my God.' Yet the earlier evangelists do not shew Jesus as putting forward any such claim. In their narratives He is distinct from the Father, and ranges Himself invariably among men.

This is the important problem of which the book before us offers a solution. The author's argument may be briefly indicated:—

During His earthly ministry Jesus, by the combined effect of His life and teaching, made certain silent claims whose full purport was not at first perceived. These arose partly from the appeals to heart and conscience conveyed by His words, and partly from the general influence of His personality. He thus awakened in the minds of His disciples exalted, although undeveloped, conceptions of His nature, and presented to them questions to which at first they could find no proper answer.

These questions were accentuated by His Messianic utterances. Claiming, as He did, to be the actual and not merely the potential Messiah, He presented the Messiah in a hitherto unheard of form, and introduced new features into the Messianic office. Among these new features two were especially significant. The Messiah became, by His representation, emphatically a teacher. He also assumed the likeness of the suffering servant of Isaiah, who had borne the sins of 'many' and brought healing by his stripes.

By such unobtrusive influences the disciples were moved, during His earthly ministry, to acknowledge Him as the Christ. They gave Him this title because it was the highest they knew. It was, however, quite inadequate to express all they felt. Jesus was much more to them than either the Messiah of the popular fancy or any other Messiah they were able to conceive.

The effect of the Resurrection was not to persuade the disciples of their Master's Messiahship, for of this they were already assured, but

to convince them that He was the Messiah in spite of the catastrophe of the Cross. The experience of Pentecost enhanced still further their sense of His greatness by proving to them that He was in a position 'to pour out the Spirit', a power ascribed by the prophet to God Himself.

A name over and above that of Christ was thus imperatively needed. This name they found in the $\delta \kappa \rho \iota \sigma \tau \eta \varsigma$, which in the Greek O. T. replaces Jehovah. It had, indeed, been applied to Jesus, previous to the Resurrection, but only in a restricted sense. After the Resurrection it was rather the expression of an attitude of mind, on the part of the disciples, than a formal designation. It indicated, in the words of John Weiss (*Christ* p. 46), 'dutiful obedience, reverence, and sacred fear . . . thankfulness and love and trust—in short, everything a man can feel towards God'. At length, after two generations, 'the Divine name and status' were unreservedly assigned by the disciples to their Master in response to the pressure of history and individual experience. 'As in hailing Him as Lord the Church had done justice to that in Jesus which went beyond His Messiahship, so now it was called upon to do justice to what went beyond His function as "Lord"; and that is what it did when it said at last, He too is God' (p. 220).

Such is the author's solution of the important problem with which he deals. The reader will feel that he has achieved his purpose, which is, as he tells us, 'to give a point of view for the study of the N. T., whether by the student with his Greek text at hand, or by the layman with his English Bible'. Those who approach the problem for the first time will find in Dr Scott's pages many suggestive observations, and strong incentives to further study.

Students more familiar with the controversy may think that greater emphasis should have been laid upon the transformation which the thoughts of the disciples would of necessity undergo when Jesus had left the earth and passed into the spirit-world.

At the Ascension they saw Him, not merely leaving the world, but going to the Father. He was now entering upon a more intimate union with the Father than had been possible during His earthly ministry. That this was conveyed to the disciples by the Resurrection appearances and their sequel, the Ascension, appears from many passages such as Mark xvi 19: 'after he had spoken unto them he was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God.'

We may suppose that the union thus indicated would remain implicit and unanalysed until the Gospel had left its Palestinian home. The recognition of the spiritual nature of God, which finds expression in the Fourth Gospel, offered a solution of what would have been to Jewish minds a difficult problem. Spirit breaks through the limitations which determine individuality. It became possible to see Jesus 'in' the

Father, and the Father 'in' Him. The disciples were thus compelled to think of God in the terms—if the expression may be allowed—of Jesus, and of Jesus in the terms of the Father. The happy experiences which their discipleship brought them were ascribed without distinction either to Jesus directly or to the Father 'in' or 'through' Him. Thus Dr Scott seems hardly justified in tracing the Logos Christology, as he appears to do (p. 110) to 'Hellenistic speculation', and in questioning its permanent validity. The term Logos no doubt arose within the Schools, and has never passed far beyond them. It was in a sense the outcome of 'speculation', but the speculation was a necessity as soon as the relation of the Ascended Christ to the Father began to be examined and its implications unfolded. Thinking of God as 'Spirit' the disciples of Jesus were compelled, by their own experiences and by the Church's rapid diffusion, to give the divine title to their Master. Centuries of thought and controversy were needed before a formula was at length found, which, while expressing the Deity of the Incarnate Son, would, at the same time, safeguard the unity of the Godhead.

J. GAMBLE.

The *Church Quarterly Review* has had "The Roman Note in Spottiswoode, Baltimore & Co."—J. H. SIMONS—England & Nations and a Lecture at Cambridge—E. V. WILSON The future of a country parish—A. E. ROBERT Pastoral Theology and Art—A. J. BRADSHAW Recent work on the Gospels—V. LUCKYMAN The Samaritanian traveler—The War—V. LUCKYMAN The modern Slavic eastern church—A. J. BRADSHAW A layman's view of foreign missions—A. J. BRADSHAW Spanish literature—A. E. MURKOVIC Dr. Hammer's mission's mission—WALTER WOODS

The Hibbert Journal. July 1913. Vol. vi. No. 1. WILLIAMS & Norgate. R. VILSON The causes of nations and the Commonwealth of nations—J. L. R. MARRIOTT Nationalism, internationalism, and supernationalism—B. V. BACON Francis Bacon—J. MARCHEL The tolerance of Christianity and War—E. TROMPERLEY The meaning of pain—H. L. STEWART GOSWELL, not poet, the first poet in the Churches—J. LALOR The ethics of immortality—J. ROBINSON A forgotten prophet, David Tynan—J. E. BURGESS The unity of God: a vintage question—J. LINDSAY Robertus Magnus a philosopher—K. LARK The Resurrection argument—Surrey and Sussex notes.

The *Lancet*. The third English Series, Vol. II. Editor R. Stoughton. & Hazle. The new song in the Christian Church—A Saint's Vision in our holy land—J. Stoddard's Studies in conversion—Symonds & Lynde—F. R. Tennant's Human personality and individuality—L. E. Dorr's Studies and Sermons in the New Testament.—N. J. Johnson. The Hindu idea of a holy life.

August 10th. Eighth Series No. 10. [A.] JONES The early history of the Church and the Ministry—[B.] A. BROWN The two temptations of a layman—[C.] H. THOMPSON An experiment in translation—[D.] STANLEY Thomas Hunt a study in conversion—[E.] HANCOCK Hinduism & Buddhism—[F.] ELIAS Savings in Jesus from a recent source.

September 1918 (Eighth Series, No. 93). M. JONES The early history of the Church and the Ministry—B. W. BACON John as preacher of justification by faith—F. GRANGER The revolutionary significance of the Gospel—J. MOFFATT A new commentary on Philip-pians—V. BURCH The problems of the Letter of James, chapter iii—T. H. WEIR Variant numbers in the Gospels.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1918 (Vol. xxii, No. 3: University of Chicago Press). A. E. HARVEY Martin Luther in the estimate of modern historians—M. SPRENGLING The Aramaic papyri of Elephantine in English—A. C. WATSON The primary problem for an empirical theology. II—J. W. THOMPSON Church and State in mediaeval Germany. III—E. T. MERRILL On 'Clement of Rome'—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1918 (Vol. xvi, No. 3: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD 'The victorious life'—E. C. CALDWELL The purpose of the ages—W. A. HOLLIDAY Communion with God, and with Christ—S. T. LOWRIE The Epistle of James: to whom addressed?—R. D. WILSON The authenticity of Jonah. II—Notes and notices—Reviews of recent literature.

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DOCUMENTS

A FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF ST CUNGAR.

ST CUNGAR is a Somerset saint who has given his name to Congresbury (pronounced Coombsbury), a village near Yatton, on the Cheddar Valley railway. The church of Badgworth in the same neighbourhood is dedicated to him. An account of the saint, derived from Welsh sources, may be read in Miss Arnold-Foster's useful book on *Church Dedications* (ii 75). It will suffice now to say he is there described as a son of Geraint, prince of Cornwall, and as brother of St Just and uncle of St Kebi: he is a sixth-century saint, contemporary with St David. He has a well at Lanivet in Cornwall, and two churches in North Wales.¹

When Wynkyn de Worde printed the *Nova Legenda Anglica* in 1495 he included in his book several lives which were not derived from the main source, John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Anglie*. One of these was a *Life of St Cungar*, which represented the story of the life of an Emperor of Constantinople, who renounced the succession and fled to Italy, Gaul, and ultimately Britain, in search of the solitude of a hermit's life. He settled at Congresbury in Somerset, and was granted the territory of his retreat by King Ina (688). In the latter period he migrated to Wales. This narrative is purely legendary, and places the saint nearly two hundred years too early. The source used by Wynkyn de Worde has entirely disappeared. It is probable that the careful editor of the recent edition of the *Legenda* has assigned the composition of the work to the fourteenth century on the ground of the alliteration indulged in by the writer.

A fragment of parchment, however, from a book, has recently been given to the Library.

¹ For more precise information the reader may consult *Notes on the Welsh Saints*, by Prof. Rice Rees (1957), or *The Welsh Saints*, by W. J. Rees (1855), under the name of the saint of the name. For a summary and references see *Acta Sanctorum*, November, iii 402 C. Ku-

² Horstman *Nova Legenda Angliae* 1565, 1.

of Wells,¹ which provides us with about half the *Life* in a more original form than the printed text, and in a hand of the latter part of the twelfth century. Of the paper book but four leaves survive, and these contain the index only to a Latin Formulary, apparently drawn up for the secretarial office of a bishop, and written about the beginning of the seventeenth century: the book seems to have contained some 204 pages.

The fragment measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 8 inches, and is written in two columns. It has been clipped on all sides, so that some letters and portion of letters have been cut away. It has been cut out of a book of the Gospels, written at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. The last seventeen words of St John's Gospel appear at the top of the first column. These are followed at once, in a hand of the middle of the twelfth century, by the rubric *Oratio post mandatum*: the only other letter in red is the ornamental capital of 'Adesto', the first word of the prayer.² Then comes the portion of the *Life of St Cungar*, which fills the rest of this page and the whole of the *verso*.

In constructing the *apparatus* to the text of the *Life of St Cungar* I have neglected mere variations of spelling. In the text itself the half-brackets indicate loss of words through the clipping of the parchment; square brackets represent the insertions of an early corrector; pointed brackets mark words which I have inserted—for the most part from Horstman's edition (H).

fecit ihs. quae si scriban
tur per singula. nec ip
sum arbitror mundū
capere eos qui scribendi
sunt libros.

Oratio post mandatum

Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam

K

Kýrrieł. Pater noster. Suscepimus deus

misericordiam tuam. Tu mandasti mandata

Adesto domine officio nostrę servitutis, et quia tu pedes lavare dignatus es tuis discipulis, opera manuum tuarum ne despicias quę nobis retinenda mandasti; sed sicut his exteriora abluuntur inquinamenta corporum, ita per te omnium nostrum interiora laventur peccata. Quod ipse prestare dignetur, qui vi(vit) Saluum me. Miserere mei. Kýrrie. Et veniat super nos. Actiones nostras.

¹ Through the kindness of Mrs Palmer, daughter of a former Lay Vicar of Wells, and of her son, the Rev. T. F. Palmer, Vicar of Witham Friary, Somerset.

² I have to thank my friend Mr J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum, for his help in determining the dates of the three handwritings.

INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA SEQVENTIS LIBRI.

- De orationibus in ieiuniis parentum sancti Cungari ad expellendam sterilitatem.
- De conceptione et nativitate pueri.
- De divina electione eiusdem, et sua eximia religione et discessione. 5
- De civibus sequentibus eundem.
- De perigrinatione eiusdem.
- De revelatione angelica, et adventu ad estivam regionem.
- De somnio per angelicam ammonitionem.
- De modo ieiunandi et introitu in aquam frigidam. 10
- De arundineti verso in pratum.
- De baculo crescente in arborem taxum.
- De datione Ini regis.
- De obcecatione Edgari regis.
- De recessione eiusdem ad Gualiam. [A heading cut away after this.] 15
- De obcecatione Poulenti regis.
- De principe Pebiau liquefacto¹.
- De exitu sanctissimi Cungari.

DE ORATIONIBVS ET IEI^v¹NIIS PARENTVM SANCTI CVNGARI AD EXPELLENDAM STERILIT¹ATEM¹. 20

Dum quidam Constantinopolitanus imperator ab imperatrice Luciria nominata speraret gener¹are¹ prolem, nullam generabat. Vnde ambo tristes condo¹le¹bant de infecunditate communi, et inceperunt assidue ¹ie¹iunare, elemosinas erogare, omnipotentem deum fideliter et incessa-
bilit¹er invocare, quatinus omnium donorum donator donaret eis 25
fili¹um¹ adoptivum qui genitori posset succedere et post imperatoris obitum retiner¹e¹ imperium. Itaque adiuvante divina maiestate exaudite sunt preces ¹am¹borum, acceptabilia et accepta dona [sunt] elemosinarum.

DE CONCEPTI¹ONE¹ ET NATIVITATE PVERI. 30

Post hec vero imperatrix religiosissima divino nutu feliciter¹ concepti,
et post conceptionem felicius generavit. Audita ergo nativit¹ate¹ pueri,
parentibus et compatriotis exultabili, veniebant potentes d¹uces¹,
nobiles et divites ad imperialem curiam, collaudantes unanimiter ¹et
be¹nedicentes summi datoris benivolentiam, quia exaudierat petit¹io¹nem 35
postulandam, et insuper perfecerat ad perfectionem impletam ac imple¹ndam¹.

DE DIVINA ELECTIONE EIVSDEM ET SVA EXIMIA RELIGIONE ET DISCESSIO¹NE¹.

Infans nutritus crevit ad puericiam, et gradatim puer bonę indol¹is¹ 40
floreat, tendens ad iuvenilem formam. Forma eius erat deco¹ra¹ et inenarrabilis, (propter) quod multi reges et reginae desiderabant copulare ¹talem¹ filiabus suis. Audiebant enim illum esse amatorem largitatis

Title: DE SANCTO CUNGARO HEREMITA ET CONFESSORE H Horstman gives no
chapter headings, either at the beginning or in the text 24 fidenter H 27 om.
divina H 28 om. [sunt] H 32 ergo] igitur H 33 exultabili] exultanti-
bus H 36 postulandam] postulatam H perfecerat] perduxerat H et im-
pletam et implendam H 42 propter] suppleni ex H

et ad^oma^ltum moribus legitimis. Interea consensu parentum et compatriotarum c^uiusdam^l regis nobilissimi filia pacta est illi cum honore utriusque regni. Ille autem, caducam potestatem despiciens, et quod (est) perpetuum immo eli^gens^l virginitatem inviolatam servans, sub
 5 vili amictu discessit ab imperiali curia, nulli revelans quod cogitabat. Ac nulli conseⁿtienti^l, divinitus inspiratus pervenit ad Tyrreni maris
 littora. Unicus (itineri) insist^ebat sed^l comitabatur illi societas divina. Quando debuerat venarⁱ per^l nemora, latenter adibat divinum oratorium, repetita sepiissi^me^l oratione dominica. Quando cogeretur etiam a curia-
 10 libus ludere in a^lleis^l, discedebat illis invititis, festinando ad ecclesiastica oracula. I^fbi^l remanens et genuflectens cum eximio affectu orabat. Non ad^l cu^lriale prandium, sed ad cenam constitutam venire solebat. Ieiunⁱis^l frequentabat fungi, donec omnes videntes et illud audientes
 de^l iuvenis religione ammirabili [gaudebant].

15 DE CIVIBVS SEQVENTIBVS EVⁿDEM^l.

His peractis, post discessionem unici filii lugebant pa^ren^ltes; et cives dediti mesticię iussu imperatorio s^ecuti^l sunt iuvenem Cungarum fugientem, et si possent in^lven^ltum occupare, occupatum caperent et reducerent invitum ad imperatorem. Illis venientibus cum magna
 20 festinati^one^l ad equoreum litus, ecce navis prompta erat ad transfr^e-
 tandum^l: iuvenis videns illos sequentes et ventorum prosperitatem et
 paratum^l navigium, intravit in velatam navem: et sic veniens prospere
 ad equoream^l marginem, devitavit odiosam persecutionem.

DE PER^lGRINATIONE EIVSDEM.

25 Indigenę [in]vestigantes proposuerant ab imperato^re^l ammoniti
 cogere fugi^ltivum ad reversionem: sed d^eus prescius et previsor
 futurorum noluit ut a proposito impediretur sed^l potius adimpleret suam
 primitivam intentionem. Inchoaverat enim a puericia castissime
 vivere, indesinenter orare, nullum offendere; ac dum invitaretur ad
 30 equestre certamen nolebat militare. Suum certamen erat primi adversarii
 insidias superare, et contemplari celestia et spernere transitoria. Ele^ge^lrant
 sui parentes et cives (ipsum) futurum imperatorem; [sed]
 maluit ipse tendere ad celestem electionem. Electus itaque dei
 famulus Cungarus elegit nativam terram deserere, incipiens peregrinari,
 35 desiderans complere euuangelicum preceptum quod audistis et estis
 audituri: 'Qui^l non reliquerit patrem aut matrem, fratres et sorores,
 filios aut^l a^lgros, non est me dignus. Illud audiens, nec obliviscens,
 sed^l f^lirmiter recondebat in pectore, non cessavit donec potuit
 adimplere.

4 est] *suppl. ex H* immo] animo H 5 quod] que H 7 itineri] *suppl. ex H*
 9 etiam cogeatur H 12 Non] Et non H 13 Ieiuniis . . . donec] Ieiunia
 frequentabat ita, ut H om. illud H 14 ammirabili [gaudebant]] admi-
 rarentur H 19 Illis] + autem H 21 iuvenis] + autem H 22 in velatam
 navem] navem velatam H 25 Indigenę] + itaque H 26 deus . . . sed] *suppl.*
ex H 27 suam primitivam intentionem] primitus conceptam intentionem
 suam H 29 vivere] + et H orare] + et H 32 par. sui H ipsum]
suppl. ex H 35 et estis audituri] scilicet H 36 et matrem et H
 fratres et] *super et secunda manus scripsit* aut sorores] + et uxorem et H
 37 aut] et H agros] + propter me H 38 recondens H potuit adimplere]
 fideliter adimpleret H

DE REVELATIONE ANGELICA ET ADVENTU AD ESTIVAM REGIONEM.

¶ Noluit tamen sanctissimus Cungarus et iuvenis mansuetissimus remanere in vicinia parentum, timens, si vici^{li}num audirent remanentem filium, sine dilatione remit^{te}rent propter unicum et carissimum. Hac occasione et ange^{li}ca exhortatione recessit a ripa Tirreni maris, et per-
venit a^d Italiam; de Italia trans Alpes ad Galliam; de Gallia n^{avi}-
gando ad Britanniam. Toto conamine nitebatur so^litaria vitam
ducere: propterea inquirebat et interrogabat d^{il}igenter in itinere loca
congrua heremite. Dum itaque c^oonaretur implere votivam intentionem,
direxit suum iter ad es^tivam quam sic incolę nominabant et nominant¹⁰
regionem. Deⁱnde ammonitus iterum angelica revelatione pervenit
ad ameⁿissimum locum aquis et arundineti ambitum, postea suo
vo^{ca}bulo Cungrisberia nominatum. Cungarus enim apud B^{ri}tan-
nigenas revocabatur. Non immerito, (quia) doctrine su^e fluenta
seminabat per patriam: quocumque ibat, non cessabat pred^{ic}icare¹⁵
secundum commendationem apostolicam. Omnia que dabantur il^{li}
a regibus et divitibus, data continuo erogabat pauperibus.

¶ DE SOMNIO PER ANGELICAM AMMONITIONEM.

Sanctissimo et reverentissimo Cungaro adveniente et illic pro-
ponente perseverare, per somnium revelatum fuit illi ab^o angelo ut,²⁰
ubicunque videret aprum in die sequenti crastino, ibi construeret
habitaculum, et post hanc edificati^onem fundaret oratorium. Ex-
pergisciente illo, gavisus est valde, fes^tinanter incepit procedere; ac
ex [in]proviso vidit aprum iacentem in ar^undineo loco, ac visum
perterritus, territus et fugitivus ap^{er} cursu solito recessit. Illo viso²⁵
secundum angelicam promissi^onem, et sanctissimo Cungaro vidente
silvestris loci et aquosi am^{en}itatem, letabatur proferendo hunc exul-
tabilem sermonem: Hic est¹ locus nunc inventus quem quesivi: hic
manebo ut serviam sancte¹ trinitati. Relatis his verbis construxit
habitaculum, hinc¹ titus cimiterium. Hoc emenso, fundavit in³⁰
honore sanctę trini¹tatis oratorium.

2 tamen] autem H 3 remanentem] commorantem H 4 remitterent propter]
aduocarent sibi H 6 Italiam] + et H 7 Toto] + enim H 9 votivam
intentionem] intentionem a deo sibi inspiratam H 10 direxit... regionem]
direxit iter suum ad partem quandam Britanniarum que vocatur Somerset, quam
sic incolę nominant regionem H 12 ambitum] circumdatum H 13 Cungres-
biria H Cungarus... revocabatur] Cungarus enim apud Angligenas vocabatur,
Doccuinus, quasi 'doctor', apud Britannigenas vocabatur H 14 Non] nec H
quia] suppl. ex H 15 patriam] + et H predicare] + verbum dei H 16 com-
mendationem] traditionem H illi] ei H 17 om. data H 19 et illic...
somnia] in patriam que Somerset nuncupatur ab incolis, proposuit ibidem
perseuerare. Qui dum nocte membra quieti dedisset, etiam somnus a consueta
contemplatione spiritum suspendisset H 21 om. sequenti H 22 post hanc
edificationem] postea H Expergisciente illo] Qui expergefactus, ad angelicam
revelationem H 23 festinanter incepit procedere] et festinanter processit H
24 arundineti ac visum preteriiit. Territus autem aper cursu solito fugitiuus
abscessit. Ille autem, viso apro, sec. ang. prom., insuper intuens loci illius aquosi
et silvestris am., let. proferens huiusmodi sermonem H 28 om. nunc inventus H
29 Nec mora, hab. constr. Dehinc mensus est cim. H 30 Forsitan scripsit emetitus
Hoc] Quo H 31 sancte] + et indiuidue H

DE MODO IEIVNANDI ET INTROITV (IN) AQVAM FRIGIDAM.

Perseveravit in hoc loco sibi placito indutus cilicio, ducens vitam inreprehensibilem in ¹i*e*iuniis et crebris orationibus sine impedimento. Omni ¹hor^a matutina intrabat in frigidam aquam, ibi permanens
 5 ¹qu¹andiu diceretur ab eo tribus vicibus dominica oratio ¹revertebatur ad ecclesiam vigilans et exorans summi ¹cre¹atoris omnipotentiam. Nona hora autem utebatur orde¹aceo¹ pane, numquam fungens ferculis nec saturi¹tate¹. Macies tenuaverat corpus macrum: talem vi¹dent¹es
¹dicebant illum esse languidum aut febricitatum. Vita heremi-
 10 talis erat sibi dulcissima, secundum Pauli primi heremite et Antonii vestigia.

DE ARVNDINETO VERSO IN PRATVM.

Istud primum miraculum peractum est per divinam clementiam a iustissimo Cungaro et per eius sanctitatem et orationem immaculatam:
 15 loca aquatica ac arundinea, q[ue] era[n]t circa suam culturam, tunc nullam utilitatem prebentia, conversa sunt in campos cultui aptissimos ac in florida prata. Hoc audito miraculo undique per Angliam et insuper per generalem Britanniam cum eximia reverentia magnificabant electum famulum dei Cungarum, talia dicendo in laudem (eius) et
 20 honorem:

Laudant indigenę dicendo: Videmus aperte campos cum pratis, ubi crevit harundo palustris.

DE BACVLO CRESCENTE IN ARBOREM TAXVM.

Transacto tali ac tanto miraculo, dum quodam die staret reverentis-
 25 simus Cungarus in cimiterio, clericis suis circumstantibus, optavit ut ibi cresceret taxus, quatinus fieret umbraculum propter calorem estivum, ac ramorum dilataciónē decoraretur cimiterium. Dum talia desideraret, baculum de arbore taxo factum tenens in manibus, affixit in terram, et in terra defixum deseruit, nec retrahere potuit; et in sequente die,
 30 cunctis ibi assistantibus et videntibus, fronduit. Postea latissima arbor crevit, ac secundum petitionem sanctissimi Cungari et desiderium umbraculum clericis et populo pro fervore estuali fuit. Unde dictum est:

Taxus adest viridis, non arida nec manualis;
 quod fuerat siccum, frondet mirabile lignum.

35 DE DATIONE INI REGIS.

Revelatis undique et provulgatis talibus miraculis, Ini rex Anglorum

2 perseveravit] + igitur H sibi placito] deo dilectus Cungarus H vitam
 ducens H 5 quandiu... revertebatur] donec orationem dominicam ter repetisset.
 Sic itaque frigesce[n]s de amne consurgens, reuertebatur H 7 autem hora H
 8 nec] vel H Macies tenuerat corpus eius pertenuē, ita vt qui eum viderant
 dicerent i. l. e. aut febricitantem H 9 heremitica erat ei H 10 secundum]
 estimanti imitanda H 14 om. et per... immaculatam H 15 erant] essent H
 culturam suam H 18 insuper] etiam H generalem] vniuersam H 19 fam.
 dei Cungarum] dei famulum H eius] suppl. ex H 25 om. ut H 26 quatinus]
 vt H 27 dum] + igitur H desideraret] optaret H 28 om. et... deseruit H
 29 et in sequente die] Qui die sequenti H 30 latissimam in arborem H 31 ac]
 et H et desiderium beatissimi Cungari H 32 estuali H 34 siccum]
 sutum H 36 promulgatis H Ini] Inius MS: Ina H

largissimus largitus est venerabili Cungaro libere totum territorium circa Cuggisberiam situm ; [ac] promisit ipsemet suum refugium esse inviolatum, nec in suis orationibus quandiu ipse regnaret impediretur a regali tumultu militum. Rex ille post dationem territorii noluit visitare locum honorandum, ne faceret honorabili Cungaro in orationibus assiduis 5 aliquod impedimentum. His peractis ceteri successores reges non ausi sunt nec consueti visitare, nec etiam videre, locum venerabilem. Si contingeret ut visitarent aut viderent devitandum, post visum et accessionem aut graviter et continuo inciperent infirmari, aut viso loco non haberent longius spacium vivendi. Multi itaque reges ut viderent 10 locum a regibus non videndum non longevi pervenerunt ad obitum.

DE OBCECATIONE EDGARI REGIS.

Rex Edgarus Anglorum quodam die dum venaretur in nemore ignoranter appropinquavit loco religiosissimi viri : vidit quod nolebat respicere : post respectum doluit ex intimo corde suo dicens : In manus 15 tuas commendo spiritum meum : redemisti me.

1 totum terr. libere H 2 Cungresbiriam H [ac] promisit . . . impedi-
retur] promisitque quod ipsemet ei refugium esset immolatum (*leg. inuiolatum*), ne
orationibus suis impediretur, quamdiu ipse regnaret H 4 Rex . . . impedi-
mentum] Idem autem Ina rex post donationem supradicti territorii noluit deinceps
locum iam sancto datum et concessum visitare, ne venerabili Cungaro molestiam ex
accessu ipsius generaret H 6 His quidem p. c. r. succ. eiusdem H 7 om. nec
consueti H locum] + ex presentia Cungari H Si enim contingeret casu
vt reges aut viderent aut visitarent a beato Cungaro incultum, aut grauius H
10 ut . . . obitum] eundem locum improbe videntes, ad citam mortem peruenientes
de sua improbitate iustam penam dederunt H 13 Rex Anglorum Edgarus die
quodam, dum venaretur in nemore, ignoranter accessit ad locum beati viri : quem-
que regibus videre non erat licitum, locum incaute intuitus est. Quem postea cum
vidisset, penitentia ductus ex intimo corde condoluit, dicens H 16 tuas]
+ domine H

A few words may be said to indicate certain points of interest in each of these three pieces.

1. Copies of the Gospels written in England, as this appears to have been, at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, would seem to be exceedingly rare. The single verse here preserved offers little to help us in deciding to what group this text belongs. We note, however, that, in contrast with the Sixtine and Clementine editions of the Vulgate, it does not add *posse* after *capere*. On the other hand it agrees with these in omitting *Amen* and *Explicit*, &c. The only two MSS noted in Wordsworth and White's edition as agreeing in all these three points with our fragment are C and I. The former is *Cavensis*, a Spanish MS of the ninth century ; the latter is *Ingoldstadiensis* of the seventh century.

2. The Prayer after the Maundy occurs with many variants in the Roman and Sarum Missals, and in various Pontificals edited by the Henry Bradshaw Society. The Westminster 'Pontifical' of the beginning

of the fourteenth century, now in the Bodleian Library (Rawl. c. 425), has the same *preces* beforehand and the same text of the Prayer as we find in our fragment, save that it ends with 'qui cum patre', &c.¹ Closely similar is the Evesham Pontifical (H.B.S.) 84. So, too, is the form prescribed by Lanfranc in his Constitutions for Christ Church Canterbury (Migne *P.L.* 150, 461), though the text of the Prayer is slightly different. These three authorities agree with our fragment in giving *his* (in place of the more common *hic* or *hec*²), a reading which seems more likely to be original. The Prayer, without *preces*, occurs in the Leofric Missal (p. 226), with the rubric *Oratio post Mandatum*.

In the Sacramentary of Ratoldus, abbot of Corbey (+986), we find the same Prayer, though again the *preces* are somewhat different: see Menard *Liber Sacramentorum, Notae* p. 79 (Paris 1641). Unfortunately only the first part of the Prayer is given, thus: 'Adesto, quesumus, domine, officiis nostrae servitutis, qui dignatus es lavare pedes tuis discipulis, &c.' It is from this codex that Menard has printed the Hymn sung on the occasion, *Tellus ac aethra iubilant*, with its ancient musical notation.

The *preces*, &c., which follow in our fragment I have not found in the other authorities. The monastic custom was to go to the church singing the *Miserere*.

3. The Life of St Cungar, of which the first half is here preserved, is, as I have said, a work of the imagination. Strictly speaking, it has no historical worth. But it is not without interest, even from the historical standpoint, as disclosing to us the method pursued when a local saint of whom nothing was known had to be honourably commemorated; and as throwing light on the conception of saintliness entertained by the writer, and more especially on his view of what a hermit of King Ina's days ought to have said and done.

It is at once obvious that we have here an earlier form of the text, which in Wynkyn de Worde's edition has undergone revision, with a view to producing a smoother style and interpreting some points of obscurity. The writer, for example, had spoken of the retirement of St Cungar *ad estivam regionem*, 'to the summer region'—a curious attempt to put Somerset into Latin: but the reviser is much more prosaic, as may be seen from our *apparatus criticus*. Again, our text uses *revocabatur* apparently in the sense of 'recalled to memory'; but the reviser alters the sentence and introduces the alternative name *Doccuinus*, of which *doctrinae fluentia* is made to give an interpretation. It is indeed just possible that here it is our text that is at fault, having perhaps lost a line through the repetition of *vocabatur*, and that the

¹ Cited in *Missale Westm.*, Wickham Legg (H. B. S.), ii 573 n.

² *Sarum Missal*, Wickham Legg, p. 108.

revised text may in this instance represent the original. It must suffice here to have called attention to the fact that the identification of Cungar with Doccuinus appears first in the revised form.

Our text breaks off in the middle of the story which is headed *De obcecatione Edgari regis*. We expect that the penalty which the king incurred by his unpremeditated invasion of the land sacred to St Cungar would be described as blindness, whether permanent or temporary. But the printed text, which has no chapter-headings, says nothing of blindness, but makes the king die on the ninth day after his unwitting offence. Possibly the heading is wrong, through confusion with the next but one.

Some years ago Dr M. R. James called my attention to a manuscript of Higden's *Polychronicon*, which had recently been purchased for Eton College, and which contains some curious *marginalia* relating to Wells. Among these are a line of musical notation headed *cimbalum sancti Andree Wellie*, apparently the chime of four bells; a note on Bishop Jocelin¹; and an account of St Cungar (*Congarus*). The MS was given to Witham Charterhouse by John Blakman, who had been a fellow of Eton College and warden of King's Hall in Cambridge, and who wrote a memoir of King Henry VI, with whom he was intimately connected.² Another book given by him to Witham is MS Bodl. 801, a collection of theological pieces, beginning with the *Summa Clericorum*.³ Whoever was the writer of the notes in the Witham *Polychronicon* must have been well acquainted with the Wells documents and local traditions. The passage relating to St Cungar has been kindly copied for me by Dr James. It occurs on f. 156 a (lower margin) in connexion with Lib. v cap. 20, and runs as follows:

Circa hec tempora bone indolis adolescens Congarus cuiusdam Imperatoris Constantinopolitani vnigenitus totus deo deditus | hereditariis . uxoriis . cunctisque seculi spretis oblectacionibus . parentes et patriam pro christo relinquens . maria sulcans . vasta terrarum | spacia ytaliam alpes et gallias peragrans . in partes Somersettanas Britannie per sabrinum mare secessit . vbi solum manendi ei | a Rege Ine quod modo Cungarisbyri dicitur . optinuit. Inibique sanctissimam agens vitam congregacionem canonicorum que nunc est apud Welles | sub duodenario numero . cum alio simili collegio in Wallia instituit . talem a deo sortitus gratiam vt nulli successorum Ine Regis | locum illum

¹ 'Hic ecclesiam Wellensem in occidentali parte opere mirifico a fundamentis dicitur exstruxisse,' &c. He also killed single-handed a deadly serpent *in parco iuxta Wellys latitantem*: it was human-headed, four-footed, and winged.

² There is an account of him in the *Supplement to the Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ *Somerset Medieval Libraries* (Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society, Northern Branch; Bristol 1897), p. 127, by T. W. Williams: from a note supplied by Mr Madan.

accedendo visitare 'liceat ne instantiam oracionis perturbaret'¹¹ aut oculis intueri. Sed tamen post annorum curricula cum Rex Eadgarus in silua vicina venaretur: contigit | vt locum illum inprouisse videret. super quo corde compunctus magnam terre sue partem deo et sancto Congaro contulit. et tamen cito valido | langore depressus: post diem nonum expirauit. Predictus vero vir sanctus ad limina apostolorum. Ierusalem et terram sanctam | soluendo decedens: ope discipulorum suorum ad Congerisbyri prefatam reuectus: corporaliter quiescit. cibis (? cetibus) sanctorum felicissimam animam soluens.

It is plain that this account is drawn from the *Life of St Cungar*. The only new statement is that the 'duodecim canonici' of Congresbury, who are mentioned in the *Life* (p. 251), are made to be the predecessors of the canons of Wells. With this we may compare the Wells *Historiola*, printed for the Camden Society by the Rev. Joseph Hunter in 1841 (*Ecclesiastical Documents* p. 14), which says that the bishop's seat was transferred by King Ina from Congresbury to Wells.

The express mention of Somerset and the penalty suffered by King Edgar are features which suggest that the revised form of the *Life* was that which lay before the writer of the note.

In conclusion, it is desirable to say something as to the commemoration of St Cungar and the various dates to which it is assigned. And it will be convenient to begin with a learned Roman Catholic writer of the eighteenth century.

In Bishop Challoner's *Memorial of Ancient British Piety, or a British Martyrology* (London 1761) we read on p. 153:

'November 5. In *Glamorganshire*, the commemoration of S. *Docunus* abbat, otherwise *Cungarus*; who first led an eremitical life in *Somersetshire*, then built an oratory in honour of the blessed Trinity, at a place from him called *Cungresbury*; and there appointed twelve *regular canons*, to attend always on the divine service: after which going into *Glamorganshire*, he founded there a monastery, not far from the sea coast, where he lived and died in great sanctity. Of this monastery of S. *Docunus*, and its abbats, there is frequent mention in the ancient Synods of *Landaff*; published by Sir *H. Spelman*.'

In the 'Supplement' to this book we find on p. 10:

'March 7. In the isle of *Anglesey*, the festivity of S. *Cyngar*, Confessor. [*Willis*.]'

Moreover, on p. 187 of the book itself, we have the words 'At *Congresbury*, S. Congar', in a translation of 'The Resting-places of the English Saints' as found in the MS C.C.C.C. 201.

The former of these dates (Nov. 5) is expressly rejected by the Bollandists in their recent volume for *November* (iii p. 2 D), on the

¹¹ r above line.

ground that the ancient martyrologies place St Cungar on Nov. 7, under which date accordingly they treat of him. On p. 404 E they write:

'Ad diem 7 novembris indicta est eius memoria in martyrologio quodam latino confecto inter annos 1220 et 1224, in martyrologii Usuardini codice Altempsensi exarato post medium saeculum XIII, in martyrologio Norvicensi saeculi XV et in kalendario wallico transcripto extr. saeculo XVI.'

In a footnote they cite as authority for all this: 'Rich. STANTON, *A Menology of England and Wales* (London, 1887), p. 531 et [E. BISHOP], *Supplement* (1892), p. 783.'

This reference to the late Edmund Bishop calls for a remark in justice to his memory. Those who are acquainted with the *Menology* in question probably know that the solid information on which it is based is due to the scholar whose loss we have so recently had to deplore. But they may not be aware that the 'Supplement' mentioned above had not his authority. The book when first issued had 'Appendices' of his, though his name was not attached to them: but in 1892 a new 'Supplement' was bound up with it, which embodied these 'Appendices' in a somewhat altered form for which he was not responsible. The original 'Appendices' should not be overlooked by students.

When we turn to English Calendars we find that the day of commemoration is November 27. There are three which are known to contain the name of our saint.

(1) *Vitellius* A. xviii was regarded by Mr Edmund Bishop as in all probability the Calendar of Bishop Giso of Wells (1061-1088), a Lotharingian appointed by King Edward the Confessor.¹

(2) Camb. Univ. Libr. Kk. v. 32. This Calendar was copied for Mr Edmund Bishop. In some of his later notes, which I have been allowed to consult, he constantly refers to this as a Glastonbury Calendar of the end of the eleventh century.

(3) B.M. Addit. 10,628 is a 'Calendar of Bath, with adaptation for Dunster, A.D. 1383 c.'²

In the first two of these Calendars (if not in all three) the saint's name is given as 'Congarus'.

Lastly, we have seen that Bishop Challoner referred to the Anglo-Saxon account of the Resting-places of the English Saints. The document was carefully edited by F. Liebermann in *Die Heiligen Englands* in 1889. The passage in question runs thus: 'Donne rested sancte Congarus confessor on Cungresbirig.' Liebermann

¹ *Bosworth Psalter* p. 164.

² Stanton's *Menology*, orig. App. p. 679 (Suppl. p. 781).

pronounces it to be a Wessex document, 'begun before 995 and completed 1013 x 30'. When, therefore, the Bollandists write¹: 'Quod hic asserit scriptor, locum a Cungaro nomen suum accepisse, nulla auctoritate aliunde firmatur', it would seem that they must have overlooked this ancient authority for the connexion of our saint with the place that bears his name.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, November, iii 405, n. 3.

NOTES AND STUDIES

HEBREW CONCEPTIONS OF ATONEMENT, AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON EARLY CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

HOWEVER differently men have conceived the nature of sin, they have always regarded it as something which separated them from God. In every age, therefore, and under every form of religious belief, they have felt impelled to seek the means of atonement. To the primitive races only one means was known. All over the world, from the dawn of history to the present hour, the simpler peoples have sought reconciliation through sacrifice. Other means of atonement begin to be recognized only when the nation has made a considerable advance in ethical thought; and, however earnestly the new means are advocated, ages often pass before they can challenge the supremacy of the old. While all civilized nations exhibit some phases of the conflict between different conceptions of atonement, the people of Israel, the type and epitome of religious mankind, are unique in the completeness with which they develop the sacrificial and the ethical principles in an age-long rivalry. That is why the Christian Church, the heir of the Jewish, has found that her acceptance of an *universitas hereditatis* brings her not only wealth but embarrassment.

The object of this paper is to shew how some of the problems which the Christian Church has not yet solved arise naturally out of that inheritance. I propose to sketch the principal Hebrew doctrines of Atonement, and then to trace their influence in the various parts of the New Testament.

(i) The Law recognizes two kinds of sacrifice, which may be described respectively as sacramental and piacular. In sacrifices of the first class, which includes the Passover, the peace-offering, and the covenant sacrifice, only some portions of the victim are burned, while the greater part is eaten by the worshippers. In the second class, which includes the sin-offering, the trespass-offering, the burnt-offering, and part of the offerings on the day of Atonement, either the whole of the victim is burned, or else part is burned and the rest is given to the priests. Without entering into disputed questions of origin, we can see plainly what is the main distinction between the two classes in historical times. In the expiatory sacrifice the whole of the victim is 'given to

God'. In the other case the worshippers are conceived (to use St Paul's image¹) as sitting at the table of the God, sharing a meal with him, and thereby renewing the bond of kinship which unites them to him. It is thus a sacrifice of communion, whose effect is conceived not as reconciliation but as reunion. This sacrifice was specially appropriate where a covenant was to be solemnized. For the God who was conceived as invisibly present, and sharing in the feast given at his table, was at once a witness and a party to the compact. Accordingly wherever we read an account of the ceremonies attending a covenant, from Jacob and Laban onwards, the sacrificial feast upon the peace-offering forms an essential part.²

(ii) The other class of offerings, which the Law frequently contrasts with the peace-offering, were piacular. Some of these sacrifices were made on behalf of the whole nation, others for families or individuals: but in all cases their operation was understood to be the same. Yet in different ages both the mode and the scope of their operation were differently conceived.

(a) In what cases are piacular sacrifices held to be efficacious? Passing over the few survivals of prehistoric thought, which regarded the wrath of Jehovah as an inexplicable volcanic fury, and blindly strove to propitiate it—as at Perez Uzzah—we come to historical times, when piacular sacrifices were offered either to atone for offences against God or for wrongs done to men.

The former class included the worship of foreign gods and the deliberate or accidental breach of the ceremonial law. As public opinion grew stricter, the worship of foreign gods tended to disappear, and men questioned whether presumptuous sins—i. e. deliberate violations of the ceremonial law—could be atoned for by sacrifice. After the age of Nehemiah, therefore, the offences against God for which offerings could be made were only such violations of ceremonial law as were unconscious or accidental.

With regard to wrongs done to men—breaches of the moral law—there were curious changes of opinion. In primitive times no sacrifices were offered to atone for murder and theft and adultery, because these were regarded as simply offences against man, for which the injured person could exact reparation. During the monarchy they were treated as offences against God, and sacrifices were offered as atonement. The protests of the prophets, who affirmed that God required not sacrifice but repentance and amendment, bore little fruit till the exile: but the post-exilic law denied sacrificial atonement to the thief and the murderer on the ground that moral offences were too serious for such remedies. Yet, even when that was established as the official doctrine, many of

¹ 1 Cor. x 21.

² See additional note on p. 126.

the people clung to the belief that some sacrifices—at any rate those of the Day of Atonement—could cleanse all their sins.

(β) What gives efficacy to piacular sacrifice? What is the mode of its operation? The records of Israel give three answers to this question, which roughly correspond to three periods in the people's history. (1) Sacrifice is a gift, which Jehovah, like human sovereigns, expects and receives with pleasure. The crude form of this theory, which implied that the gods actually tasted the flesh of the victims, was gradually refined. But in no shape could it satisfy a people who had once begun to reflect: and after the seventh century it survived only as a poetical convention. (2) When herds and flocks became the property of individuals instead of clans, the Hebrews began to attribute the efficacy of sacrifice to the effort or self-denial which it involved. That view finds its most vivid expression in Micah's phrase: 'Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?' This theory of sacrifice also, though nobler than the former, lent itself to grave abuses, against which the prophets protested. But it survived the exile: and the sacrifices of the second temple provoked renewed protests from the psalmists and the Son of Sirach.¹ (3) Convinced at last that cost was not the measure of value in God's sight, men began to look for some element more personal than renunciation which might explain the efficacy of their oblations. They found such an element in the idea of substitution. 'My life', a man would say, 'is forfeit for my sin. What can I do to meet the claim of the Law? I will offer another life in place of mine. The blood of an innocent creature, perfect in its kind, shall be shed instead of my own, and will surely be accepted.'

(iii) This doctrine of substitution depends ultimately upon the belief, which was common to a large part of humanity, that pain and death are in some mysterious way demanded by a rule of justice, by which God himself is bound. This belief underlies a number of passages in the Old Testament where suffering is described as a set-off to sin; and the suffering of the innocent may be substituted for that of the guilty. A few typical quotations will make this clear.

'Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, and he touched my mouth with it, and said, Lo! this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged.' Isaiah vi 7.

'Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; that she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.' Isaiah xl 2.

'He that hath died is justified from sin.' Rom. vi 7.

¹ Eccclus. vii 4.

The casual way in which St Paul introduces this remark shews that he is appealing to a principle which his readers would not question.

These three sentences are examples of suffering endured by the sinner. I will now give three instances in which the suffering is vicarious.

After numbering the people, David's heart smote him, and he prayed, 'Put away, I beseech thee, the iniquity of thy servant.' The answer to the prayer was a pestilence which destroyed thousands of David's people. 2 Sam. xxiv 10-17.

In the song of Moses we find these words :

'He will avenge the blood of his servants,
And will render vengeance to his adversaries,
And will make expiation for his land and for his people.' Deut. xxxii 43.
The martyr Eleazer, according to the fourth book of the Maccabees, prayed thus amid his tortures : 'Be merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction on their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls.' 4 Macc. vi 28.

Commenting on the words of Ecclesiasticus xviii 20, 'In the hour of visitation thou shalt find forgiveness', Canon Charles writes thus : 'According to Jewish teaching, suffering and sickness, as well as death itself, are in themselves means of atonement, and therefore of reconciliation with God'. That is plainly true of the whole period from the exile to the Christian era. How far the same view prevailed in earlier ages we can only guess : but certainly a belief in the atoning power of pain or death is one of the elements of pre-exilic religion. The passages quoted above, half of them pre-exilic and half post-exilic, have one thing in common. In each case God is the actual or virtual agent. He inflicts punishment ; and when the punishment is sufficient to balance the offence, atonement is complete, without repentance being required of the sinner. Most remarkable is the quotation from Isaiah xl 2 ; for it is a summary of Deutero-Isaiah's whole message. In the whole of his prophecy (apart from the four sections on the Servant of Jehovah) there is no demand for repentance, but Israel is treated as being fully cleansed by suffering.¹

(iv) In broad contrast with these two conceptions of atonement, as effected by sacrifice or by suffering, stands the teaching of the great prophets of the monarchy, and of their followers among the post-exilic prophets and psalmists. Their demand was consistently made for penitence, that is, for repentance and reform. Under the monarchy it is to sacrifice that they oppose penitence. Micah spoke for all when he said to one who proposed to offer the most costly of all sacrifices, 'What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy,

¹ I resist the temptation to discuss fasting and other self-inflicted pain, regarded as a means of Atonement, for it would lead me too far.

and to walk humbly with thy God?' After the exile it was not so much sacrifice as mortification with which the prophets contrasted penitence. A notable example is the 58th chapter of Isaiah, of which only a few words need be quoted: 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen?—to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free?'

How far did the preachers of repentance affect the faith and the life of the multitude? It is hard to estimate, for the evidence is incomplete: but a partial answer may be attempted.

Sacrifice was less important after the exile than before. It was not the protests of the prophets so much as the change of habits and the break in tradition, which the exile caused, that displaced sacrifice. Still it was in a measure displaced. When we read in the 51st psalm 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit', we are tempted to say it has dissolved into a metaphor. But we are corrected by an editor of the psalm, who has added two verses at the end, 'Build thou the walls of Jerusalem. Then shalt thou be pleased with the burnt-offerings and oblations.' And we remember that long after the Return the Day of Atonement was instituted. Probably it is true that while the higher minds, such as the Son of Sirach¹ and some of the psalmists, could say from their hearts 'Burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required', yet in the lower levels of religious thought the old ideas of expiation remained current.²

Still less did the doctrine of penitence do away with the practice of mortification. Penitence did, indeed, gain a formal victory, but the fruits of victory were filched from her with a *distinguo*. What is repentance? How may it be discerned? 'Rend your hearts and not your garments', cries Joel. 'Create in me a clean heart' prays the psalmist. 'Return unto the Lord and forsake sins' advises the Son of Sirach. Excellent. But only God can read the heart, and the priest, before pronouncing absolution, demands some evidence which he can read. For his satisfaction we see growing up a system very like that of the mediaeval church, requiring confession, restitution, and the wearing of sackcloth. As time goes on the emphasis on such externals increases. Thus in the latter part of the second century before Christ a historian could write that 'the women, girt with sackcloth under their breasts, thronged the streets. Then it would have pitied a man to see the multitude prostrating themselves, all mingled together'.³

So the demand for proofs of right feeling restored the trust in externals which the prophets had denounced. Penitence as generally

¹ Ecclus. xxxv 1; Psalm xl 6.

² Ben Sira retained sacrifice without being able to give any reason except that it is commanded (Ecclus. xxxv 7).

³ 2 Macc. iii 19.

understood by the Judaism of the Christian era was not the deep sorrow and altered life of the 51st psalm, but compliance with the Levitical ordinances which, like the Catholic Church of the sixth century, degraded penitence into penance.

(v) A fourth conception of atonement is presented in four short passages of Deutero-Isaiah.¹ Whether that great poet was the author of the so-called 'Servant' prophecies, or some later poet who inherited his spirit: whether the 'Servant' is the people of Israel (as I believe) or an individual martyr; the main conception is the same. The sufferings and death of the 'Servant' are unquestionably represented as making atonement for the sins of those who slew him, and slew him not as a sacrifice but as a malefactor. They themselves looking back upon their own deed, repentant yet rejoicing, state it clearly:—

'All we like sheep had gone astray,
We had turned every one to his own way;
While Jehovah laid upon him
The iniquity of us all.'

The moving beauty and the apparent simplicity of this most vivid of dramatic lyrics are apt to conceal from the reader the truth that the underlying conception is by no means simple. In the first place, though the poet evidently thinks of the Servant's death in terms of sacrifice, that death really lacks the primary conditions of sacrifice: for there is no one who offers the victim, and according to Hebrew conceptions the benefit of a sacrifice accrues only to the person who offers it, or to some one in whose interest it is consciously offered. The poet's interpretation of the Servant's death really rests upon the undeveloped notion described above, that pain as such can balance sin, and the pain need not be borne by the sinner. 'Jehovah hath laid on him the iniquity of us all' recalls the verse of Deuteronomy, already quoted, which tells how Jehovah himself makes atonement for a guilty land by slaying the offenders whose sin polluted it.

But the Servant's death is only a part of the atonement. The emphasis lies rather upon the pain and indignity which make his life a long martyrdom. Here again there is a 'mixed mode of thought'. For whereas Deutero-Isaiah consistently teaches that punishment wipes out the sin of him that endures it, in this case the punishment is not only vicarious, but is inflicted by the hands of the very sinners of whose forgiveness it is the price.

The poet, whatever his date, is in a very different stage of thought from the authors of Samuel and Deuteronomy. He seems to stand at a point of vision where sacrifice, suffering, and martyrdom melt into

¹ Isa. xlii 1-4, xlix 1-6, l 4-9, lii 13 liii 12.

one another in the dawn of a new conception. Like other new thoughts of the first order, it was but dimly defined at first. Perhaps it may be interpreted thus: All redemptive service done for mankind has its root in sympathy: and sympathy in the full sense means not only feeling for another, but feeling with him—sharing his pain, his weakness, his sorrow, even his degradation. Look where we may, we find the same law, that he who would uplift a fellow man must stoop to his level; he who would relieve suffering must in a very real sense share it. What is the reason of that law? we long to ask. There is no answer, except that the law is part of that mystery of pain which baffles our intelligence.

The dramatic form in which the poet presented his message has caused many misunderstandings. But it has preserved and enshrined the key which he found to the mystery of Israel's long martyrdom, to aid a grateful Church in unlocking a greater mystery still.

(vi) Turning over the pages of the New Testament we can hardly fail to recognize that the 'Servant' prophecies had a predominant influence in shaping early Christian conceptions of Atonement. From St Matthew to Ephesians there is not a single book which does not contain both quotations from them and allusions to them: and the writers of 1 Peter and Hebrews make a large use of them. And yet the careful reader is left in doubt as to some important questions. How far, in the minds of the early disciples, was the idea of sacrifice associated with that of martyrdom? When a New Testament writer quotes a phrase from these prophecies, ought we to assume that he implies a definite theory as to the whole complex of conceptions which (as we have seen) the prophecies combine? And if that be the case, how can we explain the fact that no single writer quotes Isa. liii 10, 11 as a prophecy of the resurrection?

Materials for answers to these questions may be most conveniently found by examining the references in something like chronological order. Let us consider first the sayings attributed to our Lord Himself, next the speeches in the Acts, then St Paul's teaching, and that of other epistles, and last the statements which the evangelists make in their own persons.

If Jesus applied to Himself the words 'He was numbered with the transgressors',¹ must we understand that He claimed to fulfil the whole chapter from which the words are taken? In another case it was not so: for when He read Isa. lxi in the synagogue, He pointedly omitted the words 'and the day of vengeance of our God'.² A similar question arises about the dramatic scene of Peter's confession at Caesarea

¹ Luke xxii 37.

² *Ibid.* iv 16-21.

Philippi.¹ Though the words of the Synoptic narrative shew no trace of Isaiah's language, the underlying thought is certainly an identification of the Son of Man with the Servant of Jehovah. But how far was the identification carried? If we may judge by the context, it was not carried beyond the life of suffering and the death of shame: for no reference is made to 'The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all', and such reference seems to be excluded by the emphasis with which Jesus insists that His disciples must be ready to follow in their Master's steps.

Had our Lord, on that solemn occasion, actually spoken of His approaching death as piacular, how could it be that neither the epistle of St James nor the early speeches recorded in the Acts shew any trace of a conception so cardinal? The explanation which has been offered—that the apostles were silent on this topic for fear of offending the Jews—is oddly applied to St Peter, who said *ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ θεοῦ . . . διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες ἀνείλετε*; and still more oddly to St Stephen, who said *οὐ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδότες καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε*. St Luke, of course, does not give us verbatim reports. But, in summarizing speeches of such importance, the disciple of St Paul would be the last person to omit a piacular explanation of the Lord's death if it had been offered.

The evidence, then, seems to indicate that the Synoptic report of our Lord's words at Caesarea is accurate in its negative as well as its positive features; and that when He applied phrases of Isaiah to Himself, He did not mean to apply their whole context also.

At any rate it is in St Paul's epistles that we find the first attempt to refer such words as 'it was the sins of the world that He bore' to the crucifixion. Of the familiar passages which illustrate this view, it will be enough to quote three, which are typical:

τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν. 2 Cor. v 21.

ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν. Rom. iv 25.

διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί. Rom. v 19.

In these sentences, and many such, we hear the echoes of 'the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all'. Echoes repeat the sound,

¹ Mark viii 27-ix 1. Some readers, indeed, find the equivalent of this in the later passage (Mark x 45) where, after promising that the sons of Zebedee should drink of His cup, Jesus says *καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι, καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*. But (1) the last clause is inapplicable to the sons of Zebedee, and reads like an interpolation. (2) It is doubtful whether the Greek words used can properly bear the sense in which they seem to be here employed. For *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν* in the one place where it occurs in the LXX means 'devote living energies' (1 Macc. ii 50). [But in John xv 13 *θεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν* is so used.] And *λυτρόν* in Num. iii 41 (where alone it is applied to a living person) describes the living service of the Levites, not their death, in place of the firstborn of Israel.

but with a difference: and so it is here. The musings of a poet upon the mystery of his nation's martyrdom have been translated into a literal record of a transaction; even as the ballad of Bethhoron was translated into prose by a scribe who made the sun actually stand still. It is a process to which the Hebrew mind was prone; and Paul, with all his genius and inspiration, continued to think like a Jew.

So did the authors of Hebrews and the first epistle of St Peter, who shew clear traces of Pauline influence. The former writes ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπαξ προσερχθεὶς εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας¹: the latter, ὅς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον.²

Shocked by such crude substitutionism, many writers have tried to explain this language away; and to prove that St Paul did not mean what he said, by shewing that he held a spiritual conception of atonement with which these passages are inconsistent. All that they succeed in proving is that St Paul, like all great prophets, stood with one foot in the past and one in the future. Even more than Isaiah, St Paul was able to fuse inconsistent beliefs in the white flame of his spirit, not observing that they could not really be welded together. That is the hall-mark of his genius, not a proof that he did not hold the lower view as well as the higher.

What, then, is the significance of such sentences as those which have been quoted above? Surely they represent the first stage of an inevitable process of interpretation. Thoughtful men, when confronted with a great new fact, feel bound to bring it into relation with their own philosophy. The crucifixion, with its manifest consequences, was an overwhelming fact: the instinct of the scholarly Jew compelled him to fit it with a frame of Jewish thought: and one such frame (but not the only one) was provided by the individual interpretation of the 'Servant' prophecies. As we shall see presently, there was another which the apostle generally preferred.

The writers of the Synoptic Gospels, when they are not quoting our Lord's words but expressing their own thoughts, shew the influence of the 'Servant' passages very plainly. Not only does St Matthew twice directly quote them as prophecies of Christ: what is more significant is that the whole narrative of the Passion in all three Gospels is permeated with reminiscences of the Servant, key-words being so introduced as to suggest inferences of fulfilment. But these suggestions are confined to the pathetic aspect of the 'Servant' prophecies and leave far short of the piacular.

The Fourth Gospel draws inspiration from the same source, but the form of expression is characteristically different. The opening words 'Lord, who hath believed our report?' are a direct reference to the

¹ Heb. ix. 28.

things said Isaiah, because he saw his glory'; and so he gives us the key to his interpretation. Turning to the LXX of Isa. lii 13, we read *ἰδοῦ, συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται*. That verse has supplied two *leitmotifs* which run through the Gospel¹—*ὑψοῦσθαι*, applied to describe both the crucifixion and the ascension, is the note of the earlier chapters, *δοξάζεσθαι* in the later chapters is the phrase for the Passion as a whole. In the twelfth chapter the two words meet, *ὑψοῦσθαι* occurring twice and *δοξάζεσθαι* four times.

In such a picture of the Passion, painted in colours of exaltation and glory, there is no place for the piacular. The words of John the Baptist 'Behold the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world'² are not, as some have thought, an exception: for 'the lamb' is not the lamb of Isaiah, but of the Passover; and the Passover is essentially sacramental, not expiatory. Yet the phrase does form a link between the two conceptions of the Passion, as martyrdom and as sacrifice, and shews how easily men's thoughts overleap the boundary between the two. That makes it the more remarkable that the earliest disciples, as our quotations shew, never made any such confusion. So the answer to our first question is in the negative. As to the second question, it appears from the quotations that in general the New Testament writers and speakers quoted parts of a prophecy without intending to imply the fulfilment of the whole. And that explains, in answer to the third question, how, among the many applications of the 'Servant' prophecies, there is none which draws any inference about the resurrection.

(vii) Seeing how large a place sacrifice held in the religious thought of the ancients, and especially of the Jews, it was inevitable that imagery drawn from sacrifice should be employed to describe the Lord's Passion. It is therefore instructive, and a little surprising, to observe how rarely such images are actually used, and with what limitations. The prominence which Church tradition gives to certain striking phrases disturbs our sense of proportion. When we correct it by counting, we find that the definite images drawn from sacrifice are in the Gospels only three or four, in St Paul's writings about a dozen. In the epistle of St Peter one, in the first epistle of St John four or five, and in the Apocalypse a single phrase several times repeated. Only in the epistle to the Hebrews does the conception of sacrifice occupy a considerable space.

Modern readers, unfamiliar with the Law, are apt to give too wide a meaning to sacrificial language, ignoring the limitations and distinctions which were present to the mind of every educated Jew. As has

¹ Westcott pointed them out in his edition of St John, but apparently did not recognize the source from which they were drawn.

² John i 29.

been indicated in § 1, orthodox Judaism did not regard sacrifice as atoning for sins in our sense of the word, but only for ceremonial or unconscious offences: nor did it confuse, as we often do, the sacramental with the piacular offerings. Both these facts are of vital importance for the interpretation of our Lord's words at the last Supper. For when He gave bread and wine to His disciples as representing His own body and blood, saying *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμα μου τῆς διαθήκης*, He was in effect defining the way in which His death was to be regarded. Now according to Hebrew tradition a covenant was sealed, not by a burnt offering, but by a peace offering, which was sacramental. If, then, our Lord's words are correctly reported by St Paul and St Mark—the two earliest authorities—they establish two points. (1) That Jesus did not regard His death as piacular—a sacrifice for sin. For He and His disciples knew that, according to the Levitical law, even piacular sacrifices could not atone for moral offences.¹ (2) That He intended His disciples to celebrate His death as the seal set upon the new covenant, the new relationship between God and man, of which His whole life was the manifestation. What could be more natural, more satisfying than for Him, who had lived to reconcile men to God, to account His death the sacrifice which was needed to give that new covenant validity in the eyes of men? Who can deny, whatever be his creed, that it was the death of Christ which won men to obey the teaching of His life? From the time when St Paul resolved to preach 'nothing but Christ crucified' down to our own day, when missionaries carry the same message into darkest Africa, it has been the Cross which has commended the Gospel of hope and freedom.

As in the case of the scene at Caesarea, the Synoptic report of the Last Supper is confirmed by the silence of the Acts: for the speeches of St Peter and St Stephen give no hint that the crucifixion is to be regarded as a sacrifice for sin. Indeed that view is virtually excluded by the words of Acts iii 26, v 31. So far as the records go, St Paul was the first who presented this view in his teaching. It is not always certain whether he is thinking of martyrdom or sacrifice. The instances in which he certainly means sacrifice, as distinct from martyrdom, are few; but they are decisive. The following examples will probably suffice:

ὁν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. Rom. iii 25.

δικαιωθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ σωθησόμεθα. Rom. v 9.

¹ St Matthew's Gospel, in the parallel passage, adds an important phrase, *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*. Many scholars, on critical grounds, regard it as an unwarranted addition to the text. But I have not seen the reason given which appears to me decisive. No orthodox Jew could either regard a peace offering as piacular, or hold that a piacular sacrifice could cleanse from sin, other than ceremonial offences.

ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας . . . περὶ ἁμαρτίας . . . ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν. Rom. viii 3, 4.

παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ. Eph. v 2.

Besides these there are three passages in which αἷμα is used in a definitely sacrificial sense: Eph. i 7, ii 13; Col. i 20.

Yet St Paul's language in such passages is neither exact nor explicit. Though his general meaning is plainly to describe the death of Christ as a piacular sacrifice, he speaks only of *θυσία* and *αἷμα*, which are common to all sacrifices, while the characteristic feature of such offerings—the burning of the flesh—is not once mentioned. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews, we may fairly conjecture, feeling how serious was this omission, endeavoured to supply it (Heb. xiii 12). His unsuccessful attempt did but emphasize the difficulty: but at the same time it gives us a clue to St Paul's own thought. For when he assumes¹ that the sacrifice of the Day of Atonement only is in question, he confirms the impression given by the use of the word *ἱλαστήριον* in Rom. iii 25, that St Paul had already chosen that sacrifice, rather than any other, as the type of Christ's atoning death. Two reasons might naturally determine the choice. Though the bodies of the victims were in fact burned,² the striking feature of the day's ceremony was the sprinkling of their blood upon the Mercy Seat. And in the popular mind, in spite of official pronouncements, that sacrifice was regarded as atoning for all sins. Here, we may well suppose, the apostle found the one sacrifice which in essence corresponded with the vicarious death of the Servant of Jehovah: it was recognized by all Jews as the great sacrifice of the year: and therefore he felt that it offered a firm basis for his argument. No doubt he was thus departing from orthodox Jewish teaching. But this interpretation of the Lord's death was undoubtedly a response to the demand of many converts, both Jew and Gentile, whose conversion did not change the feeling about atonement which was ingrained in them by millenniums of tradition. To such men the reproach, which was so often urged against Christians, that they had neither priesthood nor sacrifice, appeared to be a fatal charge, which must be disproved. The epistle to the Hebrews is at once a symptom and a confirmation of this feeling. The author has been made aware of two objections which were naturally brought against St Paul's sacrificial theory of the Atonement, and he endeavours to meet them by a restatement.

Men had asked (so we infer) 'If Jesus was the victim in a sacrifice, who offered that sacrifice?' As we have seen, Isaiah liii supplied no

¹ Heb. ix 7, xiii 11-13.

² Lev. xvi 27; Heb. xiii 12.

answer. St Paul had suggested two answers, (1) that God himself (as in Deut. xxxii 43) made the offering—*ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς . . . ἱλαστήριον*¹—and (2) that Christ offered Himself as a willing victim—*παρέδωκεν ἑαυτόν*.² But it was easily shewn that neither of these suggestions satisfied the requirements of tradition, which have been described in § v : so the question was repeated. The new answer which is given in the epistle to the Hebrews is formally adequate—‘Christ is our High Priest. As such He has authority to offer sacrifices on behalf of us all. The victim which He offers is Himself.’ But this answer, as was found later, rather shifted the difficulty than removed it.

The other objection went deeper. Seeing that sacrifice, according to the Law, can expiate only ceremonial offences, how can you claim that the death of Christ atones for sins? Logically, no appeal could be made to Isaiah liii, for the expiation there contemplated is wrought not by a victim’s blood but by a martyr’s sufferings. The objection was rather ignored than answered by St Paul’s appeal to the Day of Atonement, which has been described. His more logical disciple recognizes the difficulty and offers a solution. *εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων . . . ἀγιάζει πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν;*³ To a modern mind such analogical reasoning is not quite convincing. But it is exactly parallel to the action of John the Baptist in transforming baptism. The Jews had applied it to wash off the ceremonial uncleanness of the flesh from heathen converts: he applied to the Jews themselves, in order to wash off moral pollution.

Parallel to the line of interpretation which connected the sacrifice of the Cross with that of the Day of Atonement there was another which identified it with the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb. Until the dates of the Apocalypse and of 1 Peter are fixed, it is unsafe to claim priority for either: nor need we suppose that the teaching of one is derived from the other. The Apocalypse makes no statement of doctrine: but the prominent use of such phrases as ‘the Lamb that was slain’, in whose blood ‘the saints washed their robes’, without any explanation, implies that the writer’s circle, at least, was familiar with a theory which identified the crucified Christ with the Paschal lamb.⁴ In the first epistle of St Peter there is a definite statement of doctrine: *ἐλντρώθητε . . . τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου*, which implies the same identification.⁵

¹ Rom. iii 25.

² Eph. v 2.

³ Heb. ix 13, 14.

⁴ 1 Pet. i 18.

⁵ In this reference to the Passover there is some confusion. As it was a family sacrifice of communion, a share would naturally be claimed by the household gods: so that the blood would be sprinkled on the teraphim, whose place was over the door of the house or tent. Naturally the custom survived the

But the full developement of the thought is found in the fourth Gospel, which puts into the mouth of John the Baptist the exclamation 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world', ἰδε, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου.¹ The Dean of St Paul's has told us that 'a careful reader cannot fail to see how the type of the paschal lamb, mentioned at the beginning of the Gospel, underlies the whole narrative of the Passion'. If that be so, it helps to explain the date assigned in that Gospel to the Last Supper, which makes the time of the crucifixion coincide with the usual hour for sacrificing the paschal lamb. And yet, though this be true, the sacrificial suggestion is not a primary but a secondary element in the fourth Gospel. By general consent, the effect of the book as a whole is to present salvation as mediated not by sacrifice but by illumination. In other words, this far-off disciple of St Paul followed his myriad-minded master in two ways, one formal, the other essential. The sacrificial symbolism is accepted as an inheritance from Paul the Jew. It stands like the carved stones from an earlier shrine which we often find built into a church. But the whole plan of his wonderful new building is inspired by Paul the mystic, for whom salvation was a daily experience of union with the indwelling Christ—the wellspring of life and light and love.

While the most creative minds were thus following one or other line of sacrificial interpretation, many—perhaps the majority—held back. The Synoptic Gospels, earlier than St John but later than the epistles, were based upon a tradition which was prior to St Paul's teaching. The authority which they thus possessed combined with their popular style to give them an unrivalled hold upon the minds of men.

Now, apart from the records of the Last Supper, there is no phrase in the Synoptic Gospels which can fairly be said even to imply a sacrificial interpretation of the Lord's death. Even Dr Dale has been unable to find one! That is to say that, when the Synoptic writers speak in their own persons, they uniformly regard the Passion not as sacrifice but as martyrdom. Here we have the explanation of a fact which is noticed by all historians of dogma. When the early Greek Fathers mention the crucifixion in terms of sacrifice, they do so allusively and without any attempt to formulate a doctrine. The reason surely is that they were constant students of the Gospels, where they found no sacrifice except that which was the seal of a covenant.

obsolescence of the teraphim; and then a new explanation grew up to the effect that the blood was to keep off the angel of death (Exod. xii 23). The latter view, though it did not make the Passover an expiatory sacrifice in the proper sense, gave some ground for regarding the blood as a ransom. I believe it is Robertson Smith to whom this explanation is due; but I cannot be sure.

¹ John i 29.

(viii) Micah's epitome of the prophetic teaching, 'Do justice, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God', combines two elements which, though almost inseparable, require to be distinguished. One is repentance in the full sense, which means not only sorrow for sin but active reformation. The other is that 'fear of God' or 'knowledge of God', which is the Old Testament equivalent for faith. The famous catalogue in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews makes that equivalence plain: but we scarcely need its help, for atonement through repentance and faith is written large over the pages of historian and prophet and psalmist. That is the means of atonement which (§ iv) the prophets consistently put forward in opposition to pre-exilic sacrifice and post-exilic legalism. There is no difficulty in tracing the influence of the prophetic teaching in the New Testament. Our problem is rather to define the form which it took, and to enquire how far it harmonizes or conflicts with the other Hebrew influences in the sphere of soteriology.

The call to repentance meets us on the threshold of the Gospel story. The avowed successor of the old prophets, John the Baptist meets every man who comes enquiring 'How shall I escape the wrath to come?' with an answer which recalls the first chapter of Isaiah: 'Repent, be baptized, and forsake your besetting sin.' When John was imprisoned, Jesus took his place, and preached 'Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand'—a call no less to faith than to repentance. And as we follow St Luke's narrative, this offer of atonement in the prophetic sense is repeated again and again.

To the harlot who washed His feet with tears of repentance Jesus said 'Thy faith hath saved thee: thy sins are forgiven.' Luke vii 36-50.

The story of the Prodigal Son is a strain of divine music with but a single theme: 'Repentance and faith make atonement.' Luke xv 11-32.

When Zacchaeus the publican, transformed by the sight of the Master, vowed to give half his goods to the poor, and to restore his unlawful exactions fourfold, the answer came at once: 'To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham'. Luke xix 1-10.

Almost the last verse of this Gospel ascribes to the risen Lord a command that the disciples should preach 'repentance and remission of sins'. Luke xxiv 47. Whether the account of that last scene be history or poetry, it accurately represents the spirit which pervades the apostles' preaching in the early days. For instance, we read:

'Repent and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out' (St Peter). Acts iii 19.

'A saviour . . . for to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins' (St Peter). Acts v 31.

¹ Isa. i 16, 17.

'In every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto him' (St Peter). Acts x 35.

'To the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life' (St Peter). Acts xi 18.

When St Paul, speaking to Agrippa, sums up his own preaching in a sentence, he uses these words:

'I declared . . . to the Gentiles that they should repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of repentance.' Acts xxvi 20.

The last quotation is all the more notable because in St Paul's writings the words *μετάνοια* and *μετανοεῖν* occur only four times. No doubt when addressing his converts he was able to assume repentance as involved in faith. But for Agrippa the conception of faith required translation: so the Hebrew equivalent is given—repentance and the fear of God.

It is not, of course, suggested that St Paul's conception of faith did not go beyond that of the Old Testament. No one can read his epistles without seeing that it so far excels it as to be almost a new thing. In St Paul's mind the Hebrew elements of repentance, obedience, trust, and reverence are fused into unity by a mystical enthusiasm. But they are still present: they are the elements out of which faith is forged.

(ix) The Hebrew prophets, as we have seen, opposed what we may call faith to sacrifice, and again to obedience or mortification, as a means of atonement. We have to enquire whether a similar opposition is to be found in the New Testament, or whether the Christian Church, which inherited all the Hebrew principles of atonement, effected a reconciliation between them.

(a) As to the opposition between faith and obedience, we have the testimony of St Paul and St James that it disturbed the peace of the early Christians. The conflict was, indeed, somewhat confused by the ambiguity of one of the terms. *πίστις* may mean either a loving surrender of self to God or an intellectual assent to a historical statement. So the two apostles could use the same terms while they argued victoriously on opposite sides. When St Paul said *πίστις* is better than *ἔργα* he meant 'Trust in God is better than good deeds'. When St James said *ἔργα* are better than *πίστις* he meant 'Good deeds are better than assent to a historical statement. But, as is usual when ambiguous terms are current, there was real confusion in the minds of these writers. St James, when he is not polemical, uses *πίστις* in the higher sense: and St Paul sometimes approaches the point of view at which faith is narrowed into 'the faith'.¹ Their opposition, therefore, is partly formal. But, broadly speaking, it is true that in the New

¹ 1 Cor. xvi 13; Col. i 22.

Testament faith and works (the later Jewish equivalent of obedience) are opposed to one another. St Paul is the champion of the prophetic doctrine, while the Judaizing Christians approach the position of the priests and the scribes.

(β) We do not find a like antagonism between faith and sacrifice. The phrase *λαστήριον διὰ πίστεως*,¹ inconceivable to a Jew, stands as evidence that somehow a reconciliation has been effected between the two former opponents. How was this accomplished? Important as that question appears, it has rarely been asked, and has never (so far as I know) been answered. The following suggestion is made as a small contribution towards an answer, not as either complete or satisfactory. The intellectual sense of *πίστις* never quite disappears: and in the verb *πιστεύω* that sense is generally present. In the fourth Gospel the meaning 'belief' is probably predominant: and, as noticed above, St Paul and St James use the words in both senses. This double use (which like most ambiguities was largely unconscious) probably helped to make a link between faith and sacrifice. A Jew, speaking of the Day of Atonement, might say 'I believe (*πιστεύω*) that the blood of the victims atones, provided that I repent and fear God' (i. e. have faith in God, which is *πιστεύω* in the other sense). There the personal attitude of faith and the external transaction are parallel, but have no point of contact. The Jew could not say, in any sense, 'I believe in the victim', or 'I have faith in the sacrifice'. The Christian, however, could say 'I believe in Jesus Christ', just as he could say 'I believe in God'. He could also say, 'I believe that His death is an atonement for sin', or 'I believe that he came forth from God'. How easily *πιστεύω ὅτι* and *πιστεύω εἰς* coalesce, just as the two senses of *πίστις* run into each other!

Whether this be correct or not, we certainly do find that faith in Jesus means to St Paul not only trust and love for Him, but also belief in the efficacy of His atoning death. The apostle can say, without any feeling of inconsistency, 'Being justified by faith let us have peace with God'² and 'being justified by His blood we shall be saved'.³ So, by a process of association rather than of logic, the objective transaction and the subjective state, contrasted in the Old Testament, are united in the New.

(x) The above considerations, taken all together, may help to explain why the Christian Church has hitherto failed to reach a definitive conception of the Atonement. Theologians have assumed that there must be in the pages of the New Testament one authoritative view, which has only to be made plain in order to be accepted. If, on the

¹ Rom. iii 25.

² Rom. v 1.

³ Rom. v 9.

other hand, the New Testament writers present us with three inconsistent views derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, besides the mystical views of St Paul and St John, the study of their writings is only a stage in the process by which the Church may hope to frame a final formula. The next stage must consist in sifting the spiritual experience of nineteen Christian centuries. And still there may be another stage beyond.

M. G. GLAZEBROOK.

Additional Note.—In Exod. xxiv 5 a burnt offering is mentioned as well as a peace offering; from which Canon Goudge (*Church Quarterly* for October 1918) infers that the burnt offering was a necessary part of the covenant ceremony. But that is a mistake. A burnt sacrifice was offered as a sort of lustration, to purify the people for taking part in the sacrifice which was to follow; but it was no part of the principal ceremony. The distinction is plain in Lev. i, iv, vii, and viii, where the blood of a burnt offering is ordered to be sprinkled on or near the altar, not on any person: whereas a covenant was ratified by sharing the blood between the altar and the human party. Accordingly in Lev. x a burnt offering is first offered for the sins of Aaron and his sons, and then 'the ram of consecration' is sacrificed, and its blood sprinkled both on the altar and on the priests who are thus ordained. Similarly on the Day of Atonement there is first a double burnt offering and then the sins of the people are laid on the scapegoat. Now in Exod. xxiv Moses sprinkles 'half the blood' on the altar and half on the people. That is the ceremonial of the peace offering, which alone was the covenant sacrifice.

THE COMMENTARY OF PELAGIUS ON 'ROMANS' COMPARED WITH THAT OF ORIGEN-RUFINUS

PART III

IT is not easy to estimate the possible indebtedness of Pelagius to a work like Rufinus's translation of the Commentary of Origen on 'Romans'. Pelagius writes brief notes on single verses or parts of verses; Origen-Rufinus is lengthy and discursive, and comments usually on several verses at a time. He is addicted, for the most part, to the Alexandrine or allegorical method of interpretation; Pelagius very rarely adopts this method, and prefers literal, common-sense explanations. Again, it is possible that Pelagius, knowing Greek as he did, may have read and used Origen in Greek. But this, in the opinion of the present writer, is highly improbable for reasons that will be stated, and in spite of points of difference such as those just mentioned, there appears to be no doubt that Pelagius has made considerable use of the 'translation' of Rufinus. As his borrowings will be shewn to come not always from the corresponding comment of the older writer, it may be supposed that Pelagius read through the Commentary of Origen-Rufinus, making notes, as he went, of anything that appealed to him, and that he afterwards used these passages in writing his own comments.

In comparing the Commentary of Pelagius with that of Origen-Rufinus, we find many resemblances, not merely in thought, but sometimes even in expression, which clearly indicate borrowing on the part of Pelagius. In attempting to decide whether he has here taken something directly from Origen or indirectly through Rufinus, it is important, in the first place, to consider what were Rufinus's methods of translation. On this question there is no lack of information. Rufinus himself in his Preface tells us that he undertook the work at the request of one Heraclius, and that he has considerably shortened the original: *Addis autem . . . ut omne hoc quindecim voluminum corpus . . . abbreviem, et ad media, si fieri potest, spatia coartem* (Proleg. pp. vi f, Lomm. vol. 7). In his Epilogue he mentions that on account of the method he has pursued in his translations he has been advised to write his own name on the title-page and not that of the author translated. 'This, however, he will not do: *Verum ego . . . etiam si addere aliqua videor, et explere quae desunt, aut breviaré quae longa sunt, furari tamen titulum . . . rectum non puto* (Peroratio p. 460, Lomm. vol. 7). 'This,

and more, is quoted by Engelbrecht in the Vienna edition of the works of Rufinus, Part I (= CSEL 46). Rufinus's methods and defects as a translator are discussed by Ed. Schwartz, article *Eusebius* in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, Bd. vi, Col. 1406; by E. J. Kimmel, *De Rufino Eusebii interprete* (Gerae 1838) pp. 80 ff; and by P. Koetschau in *Origenes' Werke*, Bd. v (*De Principiis*) [Leipzig 1913] pp. cxxviii ff. The following is a summary of the last:

There are four charges (Kimmel *apud* Koetschau):—(1) He omitted and changed such expressions as did not harmonize with his own views on Christian doctrine; (2) besides omissions he makes additions from other sources; (3) his knowledge of Greek is defective; (4) in quoting other authors he is inaccurate. On Rufinus's methods he quotes Jerome's criticism: *Abstulit quae erant, dicens ab haereticis depravata, et addidit quae non erant, asserens ab eodem in locis aliis disputata* (*Apol.* I 7, Migne SL 23. 402). Rufinus himself admits that he omitted what he regarded as heretical: *et omnia, quae a me ut improbabilia praetermissa fuerant, inseruit* (sc. *Hieronymus*). Even in places where there was no reason for change, the carelessness or the obscurity of the translator changed or corrupted the train of thought of the original. Koetschau, in the fore-mentioned edition, pp. cxxxi–cxxxv, gives a detailed examination of two passages of the *De Principiis* where the Greek is extant, and points out (1) a number of omissions by Rufinus, (2) a number of additions by Rufinus, and (3) a considerable number of inaccuracies. In general Rufinus treated the Scripture passages more carefully than the rest, and translated more accurately. He does not seem to have used one specific Latin version of Scripture either for the Old Testament or for the New. Otherwise the differences in the wording of the same quotation could hardly be explained. The question of the text used by Rufinus is very fully discussed by Westcott (Article *Origen* in the Dictionary of Christian Biography), and the conclusion there arrived at is 'that we have substantially in the text of the Epistle given by Rufinus an old Latin copy of the highest value'. . . . Rufinus probably adopted the Latin text of a Graeco-Latin copy, which had been in some details influenced by the Greek, but which preserved essentially its original complexion. The continuous Latin text cannot, however, be quoted as representing Origen's reading'. Compare the opinion of Mommsen, as expressed in the third volume of Schwartz-Mommsen's *Eusebius-Rufinus' Kirchen-geschichte* (Leipz. 1909). On p. cclii he writes, 'The translator, who was deeply versed in Scripture, gives the numerous quotations from Holy Scripture probably for the

¹ The fact that Rufinus gives an old Latin text is not without significance, as it is now quite clear to Professor Souter that Pelagius is innocent of all knowledge of the Vulgate.

most part not according to Eusebius, but according to the Latin texts in front of him'. On p. ccli he says, 'The treatment of the original is arbitrary, and he often abbreviates very seriously'.

It is quite clear, then, that Rufinus used the utmost freedom in his handling of Greek originals. If, therefore, it can be shewn that definite points of contact exist between Pelagius and Origen-Rufinus, amounting in some cases to identity of expression, it is reasonable to conclude that in many, at least, of these instances Pelagius has made use of Rufinus's translation and not of the original Greek.

There is another argument in favour of this conclusion. As Engelbrecht tells us, the contemporaries of Rufinus thought very highly of his work. Jerome and Augustine, for instance, recognized its literary excellence. It is therefore highly probable that Pelagius too was acquainted with such a work as the Commentary on 'Romans'; and if so, it is no discredit to him, in view of the difficulty of Origen's Greek, to suppose that he took the line of least resistance and used the translation.

These *a priori* arguments can, however, be supported by some positive evidence. I have compared Pelagius with the fragments of Origen as given by A. Ramsbotham in vols. xiii and xiv of this JOURNAL, and this comparison appears to shew (1) no point of contact between Pelagius and Origen where there is not also a point of contact between Pelagius and Origen-Rufinus, and (2) some points of contact between Pelagius and Orig.-Ruf. where there are none between Pelagius and Origen, and where Rufinus has obviously added something to Origen. For instance, on Rom. vi 23 (see note 46 *infra*) the military metaphor which occurs in both Pelagius and Rufinus does not appear in Origen at all.

Pelagius then, we may conclude, has made use of the 'translation' of Rufinus, and the resemblances between the two Commentaries are indicated in the notes that follow.

*1. Rom. i 1. The comm. give different explanations of Paul's change of name, but both quote the examples of *Abraham, Sara, and Cephas* (= *Petrus*): P 669. 17 and O-R, *Praefatio*, p. 6.

Compare the comm. on 'servus Iesu Christi':

O-R I 1 pp. 10-11.

P 669. 23 ff.

Sive id secundum . . . humilitatem dictum putemus . . . , non errabimus.

A servo coepit, ut exemplum nobis humilitatis ostenderet, quasi imitator eius, qui *exinanivit se ipsum formam servi accipiens* . . .¹

Sive quasi imitator . . . pronuntiet . . . eius qui *semet exinanivit formam servi accipiens* . . .

¹ P continues—669. 26 f.—by quoting Phil. ii 8, 9, and it is to be noted that these three verses—Phil. ii 7, 8, 9—are among the most frequently quoted

Pelagius seems to have combined the alternative comm. of O-R, and it is noteworthy that the quotation from Philipp. ii 7 appears in both writers.

P's comm. on 'vocatus apostolus'—*iam in praescientia ad hoc vocatus ut esset apostolus*, P 669. 33 f—is also significant. He sums up in a single phrase most of the discussion in O-R I 3 about God's foreknowledge. This idea is touched on by O-R at the beginning of I 2. Note that O-R's view of foreknowledge—*quos praescivit Deus tales futuros . . .*, I 3, p. 18—is exactly that of Pelagius and Ambrosiaster (see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 109) and even of Augustine at one time (see Aug.-Pelag. note 13); and also that while it is pointed out by O-R that *praescientia* precedes *electio* (or *praedestinatio*), but yet *praescientia* is not to be reckoned the cause of *praedestinatio*, Pelagius elsewhere—711. 35 on Rom. viii 29—says that the two are the same.

2. Rom. 12, 3, 4, 5. A comparison of the comm. of O-R and P on these vv. is more illustrative of the differences between the writers than of resemblances. The question raised by O-R I 4, *ad init.*—*Utrum simpliciter accipi debeat Evangelium . . . an ad distinctionem alterius Evangelii . . .*—a question considerably left for the reader to settle—is not touched on by P 670. 18-20, who, as usual, adopts the simple, straightforward explanation.

O-R continues: *Quae de Christo praedicta sunt per prophetas, haec etiam de Evangelio praedicta esse sentiendum est*, and P agrees—670. 22-27—that Paul is preaching the Christ whose coming was foretold by the prophets.

In I 5, after stating that 'praedestinatus' is the reading of most Latin texts (Rom. i 4), O-R continues: *tamen secundum quod interpretationis veritas habet, 'destinatus' scriptum est, non 'praedestinatus'*. Apart from the light this throws on the writer's respect for his text, the allusion to 'Latin copies' shews that this comment must have been added by Rufinus to the Greek of Origen.

The last part of the comm. deals with the objection of 'certain people' who ask how Christ could be 'of the seed of David' when he was manifestly not the son of Joseph. His method of meeting this objection is less convincing than that of Pelagius, who says simply—670. 30 f—that Christ was created *secundum carnem ex David stirpe, id est Maria virgine*.

On v. 4, however, compare P's allusion to the 'sons of God'—671. 10-15—with O-R I 6 p. 28: *multos filios in gloriam adducentem*.¹

Scripture passages in O-R: *vid.* O-R IV 11 p. 308, V 2 p. 351, V 5 p. 368, V 10 pp. 406, 412; VII 3 p. 92, VII 7 p. 121, VII 9 p. 134, VII 10 p. 138, VII 13 p. 153, VIII 11 p. 271, IX 17 p. 319, X 6 p. 392. The interpolator also on Rom. x 6, 7—P 720. 52 f—quotes Phil. ii 8.

¹ Cf. Heb. ii 10.

On *v.* 5 P, like O-R I 7 and Ambstr. 50. 23 and 53. 2, points out that the word *apostolus* means *missus*.

3. **Rom. i 7.** P—671. 43 ff—says that this is everywhere the greeting of the Apostle. O-R says—I 8—that he did not always thus address the Churches, but the differences are small and he apologizes for mentioning them. The *salutatio* everywhere contains ‘*gratia et pax*’, and P may have thought the differences immaterial.

4. **Rom. i 8.** On ‘*deo meo*’ Pelagius writes—671. 50 ff—*Natura deus omnium est, merito et voluntate paucorum, ut deus Habraham. . .* So O-R I 9 p. 34 says: *Non . . . vox ista potest esse nisi sanctorum . . . sicut Deus Abraham . . .*

On the second part of the verse both comm. suggest that the conversion of the Romans was a matter for wonder—O-R I 9 p. 35 and P. 672. 2 f.

*5. **Rom. i 9.** On ‘*in spiritu meo*’ P writes—672. 9 f—*Hoc est: in toto corde meo et prompta devotione deservio.* So O-R says—I 10, p. 36—*deservire . . . eius est, quem constringit affectus.*¹

Both comm. likewise point out that Paul practises what he preaches: cf. P 672. 18—*dat exemplum sine intermissione orandi*—and O-R I 11 p. 38—*mandati sui memor complet opere, quod sermone praecipit.*

Note also that O-R I 11 and P 672. 20–23 emphasize the importance of Paul’s words in *v.* 10, ‘*in voluntate dei*’.

It has already been pointed out—Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 9 and 10—that there are indications that P may have drawn upon Ambstr. in writing his comm. on *vv.* 9, 10. It is therefore interesting to note two distinct points of contact between Ambstr. and O-R. Comparing *servire in spiritu* with *adorare in spiritu*, O-R I 10 quotes the words of Christ to the woman of Samaria from Ioann. iv 23. This quotation appears also in Ambstr. 54. 42 ff. On the words ‘*in spiritu meo*’ Ambstr. says—54. 27 f—that this means *non in lege* (sc. *Moysis*) . . . *sed in Evangelio Filii* . . . So O-R writes—I 10, p. 37—*et legis ipsius spiritum laudat, literam vero . . . spernit.* He goes on to refer to the Law’s injunction as to the observance of the Sabbath; with which compare Ambstr. 54. 37.

If Rufinus was here following his custom of sometimes adding to Origen, it is possible that he may have filled up his comment from Ambstr.

6. **Rom. i 18, 19.** P’s comm. on these *vv.* appear in some places to shew the influence of O-R. On ‘*omnem impietatem et iniustitiam hominum*’ he writes what is for him a fairly long note with an alternative comm. at the end—P 674. 8 ff—*sive: Omnis impietas ad diversas idolorum culturas referenda est, ut impietas ad iniuriam dei, iniustitia*

¹ Cf. Ambstr. 54. 38, 39, 48 and see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 9.

vero ad omnia peccata pertinere videatur. Compare O-R I 16 p. 51: *Impietas in Deum peccare est, iniquitas in homines.* Both comm. likewise refer elsewhere to idolatry—P. 674. 2, 9, 15 and O-R I 16 p. 49; I 17, *ad fin.*

Pelagius and the interpolator—P 674. 17 ff—both agree with O-R I 16, 17 in pointing out that man, by the gift of reason, has the power to recognize God, if he chooses to exercise it: cf. P 674. 26 f; 675. 12 f on Rom. i 21.

7. **Rom. i 24.** On vv. 24–32 P writes a series of short notes, mostly glossarial in character, which appear to owe little to the comprehensive exposition of O-R I 18, 19. There is, however, one characteristic point of contact. On ‘tradidit’—v. 24—P writes—675. 41 ff—*Tradere in scripturis dicitur deus cum non retinet delinquentes propter arbitrii libertatem.* The last three words are specially significant. So O-R writes—I 18 p. 57—*Non enim vi res agitur . . . sed servatur ei (sc. animae) in omnibus libertas sui arbitrii.*

The interpolator likewise writes a note—P 675. 36–41—to the same effect, i. e. that God leaves man free to choose good or evil. Compare also the interpolated comment on Rom. ii 4, doubtless by the same hand—P 678. 12–16. It may be added that in both these comm. the interpolator states that the reason of God’s forbearance is that He wishes to bring the sinner to repentance. In his comm. on Rom. ii 4 O-R also holds this to be the purpose of God: *vid.* O-R II 3 p. 74, where he writes, *Fert ergo Deus patienter, et exspectat uniuscuiusque poenitentiam.*

8. **Rom. ii 1, 2.** Both comm. attribute to man the possession of a moral judgement, which, however, is often not exercised ‘*secundum veritatem*’. O-R says—II 1 pp. 69 f—that only God judges according to truth, because He alone can read the human heart; P points out—678. 6 ff—that the judgement of man is often corrupted by hatred, fear, &c.

The comm. of P 677. 49–52 is strikingly like that of O-R II 1 p. 70, especially the sentence *Communis professio est, bonum non debere puniri, nec malum consequi bona.*

Compare also Ambstr.-Pelag. note 27.

9. **Rom. ii 4.** The similarity between the interpolated comm. on this verse and O-R II 3 was pointed out in note 7 above. Compare also P 678. 22.

O-R concludes his note with a warning against tardy repentance, and this seems to have been amplified by P in his comm. 678. 16–43.

10. **Rom. ii 5, 6.** P’s short comm. on ‘*Thesaurizas tibi iram in die irae*’ . . ., v. 5, is—678. 55 f—*In diem iudicii iram tibi ipse super iram recondis.* So O-R, in discussing various senses of *thesaurus*, also uses the word *recondere*—II 4 p. 75, and again on p. 76. Then follows a long discussion of what is meant by ‘*dies irae*’, and he comes ulti-

mately to the conclusion that it means *vindictae dies et iudicii*—p. 78. P also uses the word *vindicta*—678. 49.

*11. Rom. ii 12. P defines 'sine lege' as *sine lege litterae in lege naturae*—679. 54. So O-R—II 8 p. 104—speaks of that *naturalis ipsa lex, quae nulli fere deest*, to which all, whether Jew or Gentile, owe obedience.

The expression *lex litterae* is very interesting. It occurs again at P 685. 58, 686. 8, 701. 21, 702. 18, and is found repeatedly in O-R. The phrase, one may suppose, means something different from *littera legis*, which is 'the letter of the law' as opposed to 'the spirit', while *lex litterae* means 'the written law' as opposed to 'the natural law', written in the hearts of men by God. Pelagius appears to understand it in this sense, e. g. 685. 57 f, 702. 18, while at 701. 20 f he opposes it to *spiritualis gratia*. O-R curiously enough appears, in some places at least, to use *lex litterae* interchangeably with *littera legis*, and indeed often accompanies these expressions with a reminiscence or quotation from 2 Cor. iii 6 '*littera . . . occidit, Spiritus . . . vivificat*'. *Lex litterae* is found in O-R II 12 p. 117,* VI 1 p. 8,* VI 9 p. 53,* VI 11 p. 65,* also at VI 7 pp. 37 (*bis*), 38, 39, 40, IX 28 p. 331. *Littera legis* occurs at O-R I 10 p. 37*, II 14 pp. 149,* 150,* VI 12 p. 72,* and at II 10 pp. 112, 113, 114, VI 7 p. 35, VI 12 p. 68, VI 13 p. 77. *Littera* alone is found at O-R II 14 pp. 148,* 149,* VI 7 p. 34,* VI 7 p. 33. *Lex secundum litteram* is his expression at O-R VI 7 pp. 32, 35 (*bis*), and *scripta lex* occurs at III 2 pp. 176. 177.¹ The quotation from 2 Cor. iii 6 appears also in O-R VI 12 pp. 67, 71. O-R throughout his commentary distinguishes so many different kinds of 'laws' that it is almost hopeless to expect much in the way of consistency, but the following extracts may serve to illustrate his usage of these terms. *Lex litterae* is opposed—VI 1 p. 8—to *lex spiritus*, which is identified with *gratia*, and to *lex spiritus vitae*—VI 11 p. 65. These two examples accord with P 701. 20 f. In II 12 p. 117 *lex litterae* is again contrasted with *lex spiritus*,² and O-R continues: '*Littera enim occidit, spiritus autem vivificat*', *quia et lex Dei* 'non' *refertur*³ 'a tramento scripta', *sed digito Dei, qui est spiritus eius, et* 'non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis'. This perhaps suggests that *lex spiritus* (or *lex Dei*) here is something akin to *lex naturalis*. *Littera legis*, however, is also taken to mean 'the written law'—O-R II 14 p. 149—*tabulas lapideas*⁴ *inscriptas digito Dei*. Apparently O-R can take *digito Dei* literally or

* With a reference to 2 Cor. iii 6.

¹ These lists do not profess to be complete.

² So also in O-R IX 28 p. 331.

³ Cf. 2 Cor. iii 3; note the identification of *digito Dei* with 'spiritu Dei vivi'.

⁴ Exod. xxxi 18.

metaphorically as suits his purpose. In another passage—VI 9 p. 53—*lex litterae* is used of the law of Moses understood according to the letter rather than according to the spirit, which is surely what is usually understood by *littera legis*. This expression O-R, as is natural, opposes to *spiritus legis*—I 10 p. 37—and he elsewhere writes—VI 12 p. 72—*ita contraria sunt sibi littera legis occidens, quae et sapientia carnis est, et spiritus vivificans, qui vere lex Dei est*. Here *littera legis* is opposed to that which is the *lex Dei*, while in the passage quoted above from II 12 p. 117 it is *lex litterae* which is contrasted with the 'law of God'.

12. Rom. ii 14, 15, 16. P's note on these verses—680. 12-45—do not shew much trace of indebtedness to O-R II 9, 10. There is, however, some indication that P was acquainted with the earlier commentator. On part of v. 14 his alternative comm.—680. 17 f—*Sive: Qui etiam nunc boni aliquid operantur*, is in accord with O-R II 9 pp. 105 f. Another alternative comment, on the last six words of v. 16—680. 45—*Sive: Per Iesum Christum iudicabit deus*, is paralleled by O-R II 10 p. 109. Compare also Ambstr. 72. 49 f.

***13. Rom. ii 17-24.** P's comm. on these vv. consist mainly of a series of glossarial notes, with an additional recapitulatory note—681. 11-29—on vv. 17-21 down to 'te ipsum non doces?' His method is totally different from that of O-R II 11, but there are nevertheless one or two points of contact.

Commenting on the distinction between 'esse Iudaeum' and 'cognominari Iudaeum', O-R points out—p. 111—that the true Jew is he who *in occulto circumcisis est circumcissione cordis*, P contenting himself with the shorter definition—680. 49—*cuius occulta sunt bona*.

On v. 18 P writes—680. 54 f—*Eligis maiora et inter minora discernis*. So O-R—p. 112—twice uses the word *discernere* in commenting on this verse.

On v. 19 P defines 'the blind' as those *quorum obscuratum est lumen scientiae*—680. 58 f—and in his next note he explains 'in tenebris' as (*in tenebris*) *ignorantiae*—681. 1 f. So O-R—p. 114—says that Paul is addressing himself to such as may have qualified to be leaders and teachers of the Church, *ad illuminandos eos, qui in scientia¹ caeci sunt, et instruendos parvulos in Christo*. Note that P—681. 5—defines 'infantium'—v. 20—as *parvulorum*.

Verse 24 is, of course, taken from Es. lii 5. Pelagius—681. 46-50—comments on Paul's use of these words *ex propria intentione*, and his note appears to be modelled on, or at least suggested by, O-R II 11 *ad init.*

P continues—681. 50 f—*Et re vera vae illis, quorum iniustis actibus*

¹ This is the reading of the Lomm. edition, but *inscientia* seems to be demanded by the sense.

nomen domini fuerit blasphematum . . . Similarly O-R—p. 113—says *nomen Dei blasphematur inter Gentes . . . pro operibus eorum pessimis.*

On v. 21 there is a reference—P 681. 30 ff—to the opinion of *Quidam*. Compare O-R II 11 p. 115, and see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 35, where it is suggested that *Quidam* include Ambrosiaster and Origen-Rufinus. Both Ambstr.—73. 54—and O-R define 'furari' as *subripere*.

*14. Rom. ii 25-29. P's comm. on these vv. have already been shewn to owe something to Ambstr.—see Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 38, 39. In spite of essential differences it is, nevertheless, equally certain that P was acquainted with the excessively long comments—II 12, 13—of O-R and, to some extent also, used them.

Both commentators—O-R II 12 p. 117 and P 682. 15 f, 34—insist that the true circumcision is one of the heart, not of the flesh. P goes further, however, than O-R and says—682. 15 f—*circumcisio . . . cordis non indiget carnis.*

On v. 27 P in an alternative comment—682. 35 ff—says *Sive: Non sequendo quod lex dicit, hoc est, ut Christo credens veram circumcisionem acciperes.* Note the reference to faith in Christ in the corresponding comm. of O-R, where he says—II 13 p. 119—*Videtur . . . praeputium dicere Gentes, quae . . . ad fidem Christi venerunt.*

It is interesting to note that Pelagius, in discussing the origin of circumcision, explains it characteristically upon practical rather than allegorical or symbolical grounds. The first reason he gives is thus expressed—682. 19—*ut cognosceretur dei populus inter gentes.* This, in spite of his allegorizing tendency, is doubtless suggested by O-R II 13 pp. 140 f, where he says, *Quod etsi nihil aliud sacramenti figuratiter circumcisio teneret, quid esset absurdi, si ad discretionem caeterarum gentium populus, qui sub lege Dei instituebatur, proprium aliquod gestaret insigne?*

As to the reason why the Jews *in tali membro signantur*, P suggests as a first explanation—682. 23 f—*ne aliud membrum aut debile fieret aut turpe, quod publice videretur.* So O-R says—II 13 p. 141—*quid tam conveniens fuit, quam eam (sc. partem) invenire, quae videbatur obsoeana, et illa auferre, quorum diminutio nihil ad officium corporis impediret?*

Pelagius, in spite of his preference, here and elsewhere, for simple, common-sense explanations, does not deny the possibility of a symbolical significance in circumcision, and it is in this connexion, curiously enough, that one finds the most convincing proof of his acquaintance with the long comm. of O-R. In a third alternative explanation P refers to the circumcision of Israel by Joshua, here¹ called Jesus, the son of Nave, whom he takes as a type of Christ. His words are—682. 29 f—*cuius typum gerens Hiesus Nave populum secundo circumcidere iubetur.* O-R likewise draws a symbolical parallel between Joshua and

¹ As, of course, in the LXX and Old Latin Texts.

Christ, and says—p. 136—*Iesus filius Nave . . . filios Israel secundo¹ circumcidisse . . . memoratur . . . Iesus vero noster . . . evidens est, quomodo non semel sed secundo circumcidat credentium populum.*

O-R, it is interesting to note, says that the circumcision of Israel by Joshua 'for the second time' appears an impossibility, inasmuch as they had already been circumcised. Pelagius displays a better acquaintance with Jos. v 1-9, for, as he observes—682. 20 f—*quando soli erant in heremo, circumcisi non fuerunt.* One wonders whether this part of the comment be an addition made by Rufinus to the Greek original of Origen. If so, the slip is somewhat characteristic of Rufinus and his slipshod method of 'translation'.

15. The exposition of Rom. iii given by O-R is, even for him, unusually long and discursive. Part of its length is probably due to interpolations by Rufinus. There are, for instance, four references to *Latina exemplaria*—O-R II 14 p. 152, III 1 p. 163, III 2 p. 173, III 8 p. 214. While it is not denied that Origen, learned as he was, might have been acquainted with *Latina exemplaria*, especially as he had visited Rome, it is generally admitted that all such references in O-R are additions of Rufinus. It would be difficult to find a single allusion in any of Origen's writings in Greek to any Latin copies of scripture. Pelagius does not appear to have made much use of the commentary of O-R on his chapter, though a close comparison does reveal one or two points of contact.

Rom. iii 3. P in explaining 'fidem dei' as *fidem promissorum Habrahae* (dat.)—683. 19—is more or less in accord with O-R in his first alternative—II 14 p. 151—*quam fidem habet Deus his quibus credit eloquia sua.* In spite, however, of this and other examples that could be given, P cannot be said to have used the long comm. of O-R. It may be noted that P, like O-R, takes 'iudicaris'—v. 4—as active; Ambstr. regards the verb as passive.

16. Rom. iii 5. On 'qui infert iram' P writes—683. 50 f—*Ut in diluvio et Sodoma, ita in iudicio.* In his corresponding comm. O-R three times refers to the Deluge—III 1 p. 167—*excidio diluvii, diluvii tempore*, and *ex diluvio salvus factus est Noachus.* Again in his comm. on Rom. iii 9-18 he mentions both the Deluge and Sodom—III 2 p. 177—*nec illis, qui diluvio perierunt, nec illis, quos in Sodomis ignis absumsit.*

17. Rom. iii 9. P merely states—684. 19-23—what O-R discusses at great length, that all, both Jews and Gentiles, are under sin. This conclusion, as he says, is based not only on *ratio*, but also on the testimony of Holy Scripture. Compare O-R III 2 p. 172 *doctoribus*

¹ O-R again uses *secundo* = *iterum* in IV 12 p. 313.

ecclesiae praebebat exemplum, ut ea quae loquuntur ad populum, non propriis praesumpta sententiis, sed divinis munita testimoniis proferant.

Compare also O-R III 2 p. 172 *Graecos, id est, Gentiles*, and P 684. 18 'Gentes' (his text reading), 21 *Grecos* (the word he uses in his comment).

*18. Rom. iii 13. P's comm. on 'Sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum'—684. 55 ff—appears to owe something to O-R III 3 pp. 183 f. It is certainly not based on Ambstr. 80. 25 ff.

On 'linguis suis dolose agebant' P writes—685. 1 f—*Aliud ore promentes, aliud corde volventes*. There seems little doubt that this is a paraphrase of O-R, who says—III 3 p. 184—*Dolus est, cum aliud quis lingua loquitur, et aliud volutat in corde*.

19. Rom. iii 15. P obviously follows O-R here in taking the phrase 'ad effundendum sanguinem' to mean not only the killing of the body but also the destruction of the soul. P writes—685. 12 f—*Sive: Simpliciter homicidas dicit. Sive: Interficientes animas adulando*. Compare O-R III 4 p. 186, and, in particular, the following: *Sicut enim homicida dicitur ille, qui corpus ab anima separat . . ., ita multo etiam verius ille homicida dicendus est, qui animam a vera vita separat . . .*

20. Rom. iii 20-24. Both P and O-R write similar comm. on 'Per legem enim cognitio peccati'—v. 20. Compare P 685. 56 f *per legem quid sit peccatum agnoscitur*, and O-R III 6 p. 195 (*per legem*) . . . *et quid peccatum sit, et quid non sit, agnoscimus*. The text reading of O-R is not 'cognitio' but 'agnitio'.

In his long comm. on vv. 19, 20 O-R says—III 6 *ad init.*—that Paul in this Epistle speaks of several 'Laws', *quarum discretio et distinctio, nisi per loca singula habeatur, confundere poterit sensum legentis*. He accordingly takes the Law of vv. 19 and 20 to mean the natural law, while in his next comment—III 7—on vv. 21-24 he says—p. 200—that in v. 21 the expression 'the Law' is used in two different senses, first, the natural law and, second, the law of Moses. P, who seems to have read these comm., doubtless considered such *distinctiones* as themselves more likely to confuse than help the reader, and takes the law in the sense of the *lex litterae*—686. 8—or the law of Moses.

The interpolator, however, agrees with O-R in taking 'the Law' in the first half of v. 21 to mean the natural law—*vid.* P 686. 5.

In spite of essential differences there seem to be some minor points of contact between P and O-R. Completing 'non enim distinctio'—v. 22—P writes—686. 19 f—*Inter Iudaeum et gentem*; with which compare O-R III 7 p. 202 *Nulla est distinctio, utrum ex Iudaeis, an ex Gentibus credant*.

On v. 24, the redemption of man by the blood of Christ is explained

in the same spirit by both commentators, each of whom points out (1) that all were estranged from God because of sin (compare O-R III 7 p. 203 *alieni . . . effecti . . . a gloria Dei* and P 686. 38f *licet simus nostris . . . alienati delictis*), (2) that men do not deserve to be thus set free from the bondage of sin (compare O-R p. 203 *et hoc non ex meritis . . .* and P 686. 24f *omnibus non merentibus gratis peccata donavit*), and (3) that having been redeemed we are under an obligation to sin no more (compare O-R III 7 *ad fin.* and P 686. 39f).

Lastly, in a characteristic note P says—686. 36 ff—*Simul illud notandum quia redemit nos, non emit, quia ante per naturam ipsius fueramus*. So O-R p. 203 speaks of our being restored from the bondage of sin to our *pristina libertas*.

21. Rom. iii 25. Both O-R and P comment in similar terms on the forbearance of God, P quoting—686. 56 ff—from Job and O-R III 8 p. 216—from Rom. ii 4 to shew how God leads the sinner to repentance.

***22. Rom. iii 27, 28.** Both comm. point out that the question in v. 27—‘*Ubi est ergo gloriatio?*’—is addressed to the Jew: *vid. O-R III 9 p. 218* and P 687. 4-6.

On v. 28 P—687. 15 ff—notes with disapproval the opinion of *Quidam*, who, he says, *abutuntur hoc loco ad destructionem operum iustitiae, solam fidem baptizato posse sufficere adfirmantes*. In his refutation of this assertion he says, following Ambrosiaster,¹ that when Paul says ‘without the deeds of the law’, he is referring to circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, etc., but he touches O-R in the conclusion of his note, where he writes—687. 32 ff—*addendo autem ‘operibus legis’, ostendit esse etiam gratiae opera, quae debent facere baptizati*. This obligation to turn from sin to the works of righteousness he has already insisted on, as was pointed out in note 20, and herein he is in accord with O-R III 9 p. 219, where he points out that after justification a man is not free to continue in sin. For a more exact parallel to P’s statement of the opinion of *Quidam* one has to turn to O-R II 4 p. 81, where, in commenting on Rom. ii 5, 6, he writes, *aedificentur fideles, ne putent sibi hoc solum sufficere posse, quod credunt; sed sciant iustum iudicium Dei reddere unicuique secundum opera sua*. The verbal parallel here, together with one that will be pointed out in the next note—also a *Quidam* passage—is important as establishing the fact that the borrowings of Pelagius do not always come from the corresponding passage in the earlier commentary.

P does not seem to have made any use of the closing comm. of O-R on his chapter—III 10, on vv. 29, 30; III 11, on v. 31.

¹ *Vid. Ambstr. 84. 49.*

****23. Rom. iv 1-8.** P's notes on these verses have been shewn to owe something to those of Ambstr. There is no doubt that Pelagius was also acquainted with the corresponding comment of O-R.

On v. 2 both comm. amplify St Paul: cf. P 688. 19 f *Si iussa perfecit, apud semet ipsum habet gloriam, non apud deum*, and O-R IV 1 pp. 232 f *Et illam quidem* (sc. *iustificationem*), *quae ex operibus est, dicit habere quidem gloriam, sed in semet ipsa, et non apud Deum* . . .

On v. 5 'qui iustificat impium', P is careful to point out—688. 45 f —*non peccatorem iustificari per fidem sed impium*; with which compare O-R IV 1 p. 234 *Indicium igitur verae fidei est, ubi non delinquitur* . . .

On v. 6 P says—688. 55 f—that faith is imputed for righteousness *ut de praeterito absolvatur* . . . The idea of absolution from past misdeeds occurs again in his comm. on vv. 7, 8, where, after a reference to *Quidam*, he quotes the opinion of *alii*, who say that when a man's iniquities are forgiven and his sins covered, God will not impute sin, *dum bonis cottidie operibus mala praeterita superantur*—P 689. 5-9. It was suggested in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 56 that Ambstr. may be one of the *alii*, and it is possible that O-R may be another. On page 242 he takes vv. 7, 8 to represent a continuous process, and he also expresses the idea found in Pelagius that good deeds can cancel past sins; *vid.* the passage where he speaks of a man *velut singula quaeque, quae praecesserant, mala bonis recentibus obtegens*, etc.

The most important thing to note here is that the *Quidam* passage—P 689. 3-5—is taken from O-R II 1 p. 70, where he is commenting on Rom. ii 2. The passages may be compared.

Pelagius.

Origen-Rufinus.

Quidam dicunt remitti per baptismum, tegi laboribus poenitentiae, non imputari per martyrium.

Sed requiritur, si erga eos, quorum remissae sunt iniquitates per baptismi gratiam, vel quorum tecta sunt per poenitentiam peccata, vel quibus imputandum non est peccatum per martyrii gloriam, secundum veritatem videatur Deus servare iudicium.

This shews that P's borrowings may not always come from the corresponding comment of the earlier writer, and furnishes a convincing proof that he was acquainted with Origen-Rufinus. The fact also that practically all the words of his comm. are to be found in O-R is a strong argument to prove that he used Rufinus's 'translation' of Origen rather than the Greek original.

With reference to the passages quoted above and the inference they suggest, it may be pointed out here that, in commenting on Rom. vi

23, P says—700. 25 ff—*Non dixit similiter*: 'stipendia iustitiae' . . . This comm. was doubtless suggested by O-R IV 1 p. 239 (on Rom. iv 1-8), where the following occurs: *Unde idem Apostolus in alio loco*: 'stipendia,' *inquit*, 'peccati mors': *et non addidit, ut similiter diceret: stipendia autem iustitiae vita aeterna* . . .

Lastly, it may be noted that in commenting on Rom. iii 28 P quotes from 1 Cor. xiii 2—687. 19 f—'et si habuero omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferam . . .' This passage is found in O-R IV 1 p. 237.

24. Rom. iv 9-12. A comparison of P's brief notes on these verses with the lengthy exposition of O-R IV 2 suggests that while P was acquainted with what O-R wrote, he did not make much use of it. Both writers amplify St Paul, and their comm. are therefore not unlike in spirit.

On v. 9 P's note—689. 16 f—*ergo quod ratio de Habraham invenerit, hoc de ceteris observemus* has already been shewn (Ambstr.-Pelag. note 57) to be not essentially different from Ambstr. P's use of the word *ratio*, however, is twice paralleled in O-R IV 2: viz. *ex ipsa temporum ratione* p. 243, and *temporis ratio* p. 245.

P's comments on 'ut sit pater omnium credentium per praeputium', v. 11—689. 40-46—are in keeping with O-R IV 2 pp. 243 ff. In particular his second alternative comment—689. 43-46—where he takes the words 'omnium credentium' to refer to both circumcised and uncircumcised, appears to be a summing up of O-R pp. 243-246 with the conclusion there reached: *efficitur ergo* (sc. *Abraham*) *utriusque generis pater*, etc. This is also the view of Ambstr. 88. 50 ff, who, like P 689. 43 and O-R p. 247, speaks of the true circumcision as of the heart.

25. Rom. iv 13. Commenting on God's promise to Abraham that he should be the heir of the world, P, as often, gives alternative explanations, the first of which *Ut in semine eius, quod est Christus, benedicerentur omnes gentes*, etc.—689. 52 ff—is paralleled in O-R IV 3 p. 251 in the quotation from Gen. xii 3.

It was suggested in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 59 that P owed his definition of the seed of Abraham as Christ to Ambstr. 89. 6, and while this is probably the case, it is interesting to note that this reminiscence of Gal. iii 16 occurs several times in O-R: viz. IV 6 p. 276 on Rom. iv 18-22 'semini tuo' . . . *qui 'est Christus'*; IV 7 p. 279 on Rom. iv 23-25; VII 19 p. 185 on Rom. ix 29.

It is further to be noted that the comm. of Ambstr.—89. 9 f—*Non ergo merito servatae legis haeres factus est mundi, sed fidei*, is paralleled by O-R IV 2 pp. 251 f *Nec immerito* (sc. *reputatum est illi ad iustitiam*): *legis enim observantia poenam tantummodo effugit, fidei vero meritum spem repromissionis exspectat*.

O-R, like Ambstr., points out that the promise was made to Abraham before the law of Moses came into existence.

26. Rom. iv 15. On the words 'Lex enim iram operatur' P writes a note commencing—690. 3 f—*Quia iniustus est posita*. This appears to have been suggested by the quotation in O-R IV 4 p. 257 from 1 Tim. i 9¹: *sicut et Apostolus dicit*: 'quia iusto lex non est posita, sed iniustus' . . .

27. Rom. iv 16, 17. O-R writes a lengthy comm. on these verses, and it is doubtful if P has made any use of it at all. His notes on vv. 17–22 have already been shewn to owe a good deal to Ambstr. (see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 62). Two small points, however, may just be noted. The first is that O-R twice uses the phrase *ostendere volens*—IV 5 pp. 259, 261—a favourite expression with the interpolator. Secondly, P resembles O-R in the emphasis with which he states that the inheritance is not of the law but of faith; cf. P. 690. 13 f *non est ex lege hereditas, sed ex fide*, and O-R IV 5 p. 261 *non ex lege* (sc. *promissio est*), *sed per gratiam*; also p. 259 *dicit* (sc. *Paulus*) *quia haereditas a Deo . . . fidei munere concedatur*.

28. Rom. iv 18–22. P's comm. on these verses are doubtless influenced by Ambstr., but there is equally no doubt that he was also acquainted with the comm. of O-R IV 6. All three writers comment in more or less similar terms on Abraham's faith, O-R at last condescending to discuss the verses in what he calls their *simplex intellectus*, which P has adopted all along.

The question mentioned on v. 18 by P—690. 42 ff—*unde quaeritur, quo modo Abraham, iam emortuo corpore, de Cetura filios generaverit, qui de Sarra ante non potuit*, was no doubt suggested by O-R IV 6 pp. 274 f, where the same question is raised and fully discussed. P, as usual, contents himself with a brief comment, which owes nothing to O-R.

29. Rom. iv 23–25. P's notes on these verses appear to owe little either to Ambstr. or to O-R. With regard to P's comm.—691. 5 ff—*Non ut eius fidem solum sciamus, sed ut eius quasi patris IMITEMUR exemplum, sicut omnia exempla sanctorum, . . . qui ideo temptati sunt, ut . . . nos eorum VESTIGIA SEQUEREMUR*, this was shewn (Ambstr.-Pelag. note 63) in part to touch Ambstr. 92. 23 f *ut exemplo eius credamus*, etc., but it is also in harmony with the comm. of O-R IV 7, in particular pp. 282–285. For a verbal parallel to the part of P's comm. printed in capitals compare O-R V 9 p. 391, where he says—on Rom. vi 5—*ut imitantes eum, et vestigia eius sequentes abstinemus nos a peccato*.

30. Rom. v 1–7. On these verses P has made practically no use of the corresponding comm. of O-R IV 8, 9, 10, though there are indications that he was acquainted with them. The quotation, for instance,

¹ Cf. O-R III 6 p. 192 on Rom. iii 19, 20, and IX 28 p. 331 on Rom. xiii 3, 4.

from Iacob. iv 4, which appears in O-R IV 8 p. 286, is used by P in the same connexion in his comm. on v. 10—P 693. 19 f.

P has some difficulty in making up his mind about the meaning of 'secundum tempus' in v. 6. He gives three alternative explanations of the phrase, one of which—the third—may have been suggested by Ambrosiaster (see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 66). The second explanation—692. 36 f—*Quia in ultimo tempore passus est Christus*, suggests a comparison with O-R IV 10 p. 303 *secundum illud tempus, quo passus est* (sc. *Christus*), both writers taking the words 'secundum tempus' to belong to the clause 'pro impiis mortuus est'.

P's first comment—692. 35 f—commences *secundum tempus infirmi*, and he would probably have completed the clause by adding 'cum adhuc essemus'. So O-R writes—IV 10 p. 304—*cum adhuc secundum tempus impii essemus et infirmi*. This suggests that P was not certain to which clause the words 'secundum tempus' belonged, and it is further to be noted that the Lommatzsch edition of O-R gives three readings of the verse, in two of which the words in question obviously belong to the *cum* clause.

Note also that on 'pro impiis mortuus est'—v. 6—P commences—692. 39—*Vult¹ ostendere . . .* This is a favourite expression with both P and the interpolator, and is also frequent in O-R. The interpolator, like O-R, is fond of *ostendere volens*.

*31. Rom. v 8, 9. Pelagius undoubtedly follows O-R in his comm. on these verses. 'Commendat'—v. 8—he explains as *amabilem facit*—692. 56, with which compare O-R IV 11 p. 307 *Hic 'commendat', vel confirmat intelligitur, vel amabilem facit pro beneficiis praestitis*. P continues—692. 57 f—*quando enim indebite aliquid praestatur, tunc maxime caritas commendatur*.

P's comm. on v. 9—693. 10 f—*Si peccatores tantum dilexit, quanto magis iam custodiet iustos!* which was shewn to be in accord with Ambstr. 95. 44, is also not unlike O-R IV 11 pp. 305 f *si erga impios et peccatores tanta exstitit* (sc. *Dei caritas*), . . . *quanto magis erga conversos . . . largior et diffusior erit?*

O-R p. 306 defines *infirmus* as one who *volens servare mandatum, vincitur fragilitate carnis . . .* So P on v. 6 says—692. 33 f—*cum adhuc peccatorum et scelerum languoribus premeremur*.

32. Rom. v 10. O-R also defines *peccator*—IV 11 p. 306—as one

¹ Other instances of *vult ostendere* are to be found at P 686. 52, 693. 38 f, 711. 57, 724. 39, and at 701. 40, 703. 14 (both interpolated). *Volens ostendere* is used by the interpolator at P 701. 32, 707. 59 f, 720. 23. This phrase occurs as often as eight times in O-R, viz. IV 5 pp. 259, 261, IV 10 p. 302, V 3 p. 358, V 8 p. 379, VII 4 p. 97, VIII 6 p. 227, VIII 12 p. 274. *Vult ostendere* is found at O-R IV 11 p. 305, V 2 p. 350, and *voluit ostendere* occurs at O-R V 10 p. 399.

who *sciens volensque contemnit mandatum* . . . P on v. 10 writes—693. 17 f—*Peccatores inimici sunt contemnendo*. Then follows the quotation from Iacob. IV 4, the second part of which, as was pointed out in note 30, occurs in O-R IV 8 p. 286.

The characteristic conclusion of P's comment—693. 21 ff—*Inimici ergo actibus, non natura: reconciliati autem ideo quia conciliati naturaliter fuimus* is in part paralleled in O-R IV 12 p. 310, where he says that Paul clearly shews *non esse aliquam substantiam, quae secundum definitionem Marcionis vel Valentini naturaliter inimica sit Deo*.

P's comm. on v. 11 appears to owe little or nothing to the corresponding comm. of O-R.

*83. Rom. v 12, 13, 14. On these hard verses it is not easy to estimate the debt of Pelagius to Origen-Rufinus, but it seems to be not inconsiderable. The long exposition of O-R—V 1 pp. 316–348—falls into two parts. First there is a comparatively short and intelligible explanation—pp. 316–322; then the writer proceeds at great length—pp. 322–348—to discuss the verses in their *interior intellectus*. Pelagius characteristically borrows very little from this second portion.

On 'Propterea sicut per unum hominem in hunc mundum peccatum intravit, et per peccatum mors'—v. 12—P writes—693. 43–48—*Quo modo cum non esset peccatum, per Adam advenit, ita etiam cum paene apud nullam iustitia remansisset, per Christum est revocata. Et quo modo per illius peccatum mors intravit, ita et per huius iustitiam vita est reparata*. So O-R, completing Paul's words, writes—p. 317—*ita et per unum hominem iustitia introivit in hunc mundum, et per iustitiam vita* . . . These words are repeated (except *ita et*) on p. 319.

As was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 68, the interpolator agrees with Ambstr. that sin entered the world by Eve. So O-R says—p. 325—*A muliere . . . initium peccati*.

The last word in the comm. of P above quoted is *reparata*. So O-R, on p. 327, uses the word *reparatur*.

The interpolator adds to the comm. of P the words *futura, non praesens* (sc. *vita est reparata*). Compare O-R p. 319, where he says *non hoc in praesenti statim contingere*.

Commenting on 'Et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt'—v. 12—P says—694. 2—*Dum ita peccant, et similiter moriuntur*. With this compare O-R p. 318 *Neque enim multum differt illud, quod alibi dicit: 'sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur': et quod hic dicit: 'propterea sicut . . .'*

The continuation of P's note—694. 2–4—shews that he takes 'death' here to mean spiritual death. The interpolator is more explicit on the point. He says—694. 10 ff—*nunc Apostolus mortem animae significat, quia Adam praevariicans mortuus est, sicut et propheta dicit: 'Anima, quae peccat, ipsa morietur.'*

This quotation¹ from Ezech. xviii 4 appears in O-R p. 329, and this view of death is to be found again on p. 344.

P's comment—694. 2—already quoted shews that he correctly understood the clause 'in quo omnes peccaverunt'. He obviously takes 'quo' as neuter. So apparently O-R p. 329 *pronuntiavit Apostolus, in omnes homines mortem pertransisse peccati, in eo, in quo omnes peccaverunt* . . .

P likewise points out—694. 5 ff—that in saying 'omnes' Paul is exaggerating. Compare O-R p. 320, where he says that Paul makes it abundantly clear *omnes homines et multos homines idem esse*.

On v. 13 'Usque ad legem enim peccatum erat in mundo' P writes—694. 19—*Lex peccati vindex advenit*. So O-R p. 322 says that sin cannot be imputed *ubi lex non est, quae arguat peccatorem*.

The comm. on this verse, however, diverge considerably. P takes the Law to mean the Law of Moses (see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 68); O-R says it means the natural law, e.g. p. 334 *usque ad legem enim naturalem* . . . Both commentators have difficulty with the second part of the verse.

On v. 14 it is to be noted that P reads 'qui non peccaverunt', while O-R, like Ambstr., omits the negative. The reading 'qui non peccaverunt' is, however, known to O-R, who on p. 344 states it and writes a brief comment.

On 'Qui est forma futuri'—v. 14—P in an alternative comment writes—695. 2 ff—*Sive: Ut quidam dicunt: 'forma' a contrario: hoc est, sicut ille peccati caput, ita et iste iustitiae*. This comm. was given in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 69, where Augustine and Ambstr. were mentioned along with O-R as probable sources of this opinion. The idea is expressed by O-R p. 322, again on p. 345, where he is doubtful how Adam can be called 'forma' *Christi nisi forte ex contrariis*, once more in V 2 p. 349, where he writes . . . *Apostolus formam Christi Adam posuit, quae sit per genus similis, per speciem contraria*, and lastly on p. 351 *comparationem . . . peccati et mortis ab Adam facit, et iustificationis ac vitae a Christo*.

O-R, like Pelagius, recognizes two possible interpretations of the expression 'forma futuri': *vid.* p. 349, where he says *quatenus forma Christi fuerit Adam, sive in similibus, sive in contrariis* . . .

*34. Rom. v 15, 16. Though it is difficult to prove that in commenting on these verses P has actually borrowed from the corresponding comm. of O-R V 2, there is nevertheless a good deal in it with which he must have been in sympathy. There are, first of all, the three passages quoted in the last note with reference to the expression 'forma futuri', which occurs in v. 14.

¹ Also in Ambstr. 107. 4 on Rom. vi 12: repeated in O-R V 3 p. 358. *Vid.* also O-R IV 5 p. 265, VI 5 p. 19, VI 6 pp. 24 f, VI 8 p. 46.

Note also the occurrence, on p. 350, of the words *ostendere vult*, so often found in Pelagius.

On p. 356 O-R paraphrases a portion of Rom. v 14 *qui secuti sunt praevaricationis Adami similitudinem*. So, on Rom. v 11, P says — 693. 39 f—*qui sequentes Adam discesseramus a deo*, also using the verb *sequor*.

P's famous comm. on v. 15, which was shewn to owe something to Ambrosiaster (see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 88), itself also shews traces of the influence of O-R. It commences—695. 44 f—*Plus praevaluit iustitia in vivificando quam peccatum in occidendo*. This reminiscence of 1 Cor. xv 45 is much more than a reminiscence in O-R. The whole verse is quoted on p. 350, while the word *vivificare* occurs again on p. 352, and on p. 355 in a citation of 1 Cor. xv 22.

P's comm. quoted above continues—695. 45 ff—*quia Adam TANTUM se et suos posteros interfecit, Christus autem et qui erant tunc in corpore et posteros liberavit*. The interpolator in several places—695. 13 ff; 695. 52 ff; 696. 7 ff—says that *posteros* means not all who are descended from Adam, but those who, following Adam, sinned after the manner of his transgression. This appears to be Pelagius's view and also that of O-R, who says on p. 352 *mortem dicit* (sc. Paulus) *regnasse . . . non in omnes, sed in eos TANTUM qui secundum similitudinem praevaricationis Adami peccaverunt*.

The part of O-R's comm. from *Sed dices fortasse*—p. 353—to *per-ventum est*—p. 354—is too long to quote here, but it contains a great deal that might well have been written by Pelagius.¹ O-R starts by meeting the following objection: If by one man's offence death passed upon all men, and, again, by the righteousness of one justification of life came upon all men, then we have done nothing to deserve death or life, but Adam is the cause of our death, Christ of life. In reply he points out that parents *non solum generant filios, sed et imbuunt, et qui nascuntur, non solum filii parentibus, sed et discipuli fiunt, et non tam natura urgentur in mortem peccati quam disciplina*—p. 353. So P, continuing his comment, states the argument of those who (like himself, of course) *contra traducem peccati sunt*. He says—696. 53 ff—*Si baptismum mundat antiquum illud delictum, qui de duobus baptizatis nati fuerint, debent hoc carere peccato. Non enim potuerunt ad filios trans-mittere, quod ipsi minime habuerunt*. It is tempting to think that this part of P's comment has been inspired by O-R, just as the part immediately following has already been shewn to bear a close affinity to

¹ This passage from O-R, taken in conjunction with what he says—V 8 p. 397—on Rom. vi 6 (*vid. note 40 infra*), suggests that he shared the view of Ambstr. (and, of course, of P) that the sinful principle inherited from Adam dwells only in the body: *vid. Ambstr.-Pelag. note 88*.

Ambrosiaster.¹ With the conclusion of O-R's comm. given above compare P 699. 56 f on Rom. vi 19, where he says *Nos sane exhibuimus membra nostra servire peccato, non sicut Manichaei dicunt naturam corporis insertum habere peccatum.*

O-R proceeds—p. 354—*Sciens igitur (sc. Christus) utrumque (sc. nativitatem et doctrinam²) esse in culpa, utrique remedium dedit, ut generatio mortalis regeneratione baptismi mutaretur, et impietatis doctrinam doctrina pietatis excluderet.* Compare the reference to baptism in P 696. 53 f given above, and with the allusion to *doctrina* compare P 699. 38 on Rom. vi 18 *In doctrina et exemplo Christi.*

Concluding his argument, O-R writes—p. 354—*Non ergo nihil peccantibus nobis mors regnavit in nobis, sicut rursum non otiosis nobis et nihil agentibus vita regnabit in nobis. Sed initium quidem vitae datur a Christo, NON INVITIS sed credentibus . . .* Compare P 711. 49 f on Rom. viii 30 *Vocatio autem volentes colligit, NON INVITOS.*

35. Rom. v 17. In commenting on this verse P says—695. 34 f—*sed et ipsa iustitia donatur per baptismum . . .* Compare the references to baptism given in the last note as occurring both in O-R and in P.

The comm. of O-R on v. 17—V 3—does not seem to have influenced the corresponding passage in Pelagius. Note, however, a remark made by O-R on p. 358, which is identical in spirit with what P elsewhere maintains. The words referred to are *Per quod indicari videtur, quod, cum libera a Deo creata sit anima, ipsa se in servitutem redigat per delictum.* This has, of course, many parallels in Pelagius, e. g. 698. 48 ff: 704. 40; 706. 31 ff.

Note also the occurrence, on p. 358, of the expression *Volens ostendere*, and the quotation from Ezech. xviii 4, already mentioned in note 33.

36. Rom. v 18, 19. P's comm. on v. 18 is a mere filling-in of the sense of Paul's words, and owes nothing to O-R V 4. So, the great bulk of O-R's exposition of v. 19 has no apparent influence on P, who writes a characteristic note—696. 17 ff—*Sicut exemplo inoboedientiae Adae peccaverunt multi, ita et Christi oboedientia iustificantur multi.* This can be paralleled by the following from the conclusion of O-R V 5 p. 368 *Propterea enim et ipse 'oboediens' factus est usque ad mortem, ut qui oboedientiae eius sequuntur exemplum, iusti constituentur ab ipsa iustitia, sicut illi inoboedientiae formam sequentes constituti sunt peccatores.* It is to be noted that, like the interpolator at P 696. 7 ff, both P and O-R maintain that Adam's sin did not make *all* men sinners, just as the righteousness of Christ did not make all men righteous.

¹ *Vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 88.

² Original sin, according to O-R, standeth apparently as much in the following of Adam as in being descended from him.

³ For this quotation from Phil. ii 8 *vid.* foot-note to note 1.

37. Rom. v 20, 21. The remarks of O-R and P on these verses call for no special comment. P is not very fortunate in defining 'subintravit' in v. 20 as *subito intravit*—696. 32; better is O-R V 6 p. 371—*Subintrare . . . hoc indicat, cum alio ingresso, sub obtentu illius alius ingreditur*. (O-R, however, is not always so satisfactory: *vid.* O-R VII 19 p. 189 on Rom. ix 33, where he apparently derives *scandalum* from *scando*. This suggests the interpolating hand of Rufinus.¹)

On v. 21 both O-R and P talk about grace abounding through the remission of sins: *vid.* O-R p. 372 and P 697. 10.

It was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 84 that Ambrosiaster is very fond of identifying sin with the Devil. One of the instances given there was *Peccatum hoc loco diabolum intellige, qui auctor peccati est*—Ambstr. 115. 48 f. Compare O-R p. 373, where the following is found: *ita fortassis et diabolus in multis vel in diversis significationibus saepe potest intelligi. . . . Ipse est enim auctor peccati . . .* O-R identifies the Devil with sin, death, and perdition.

38. Rom. vi 1, 2. P and O-R explain this Antinomian question in more or less similar terms: cf. O-R V 7 p. 374 *si abundantia peccati gratiae superabundantiam parit, ergo peccandum est, ut gratia plus abundet*, and P 697. 16 ff *Si gratia crescit in magnitudine delictorum, peccare debemus, ut possit magis ac magis gratia abundare*. Both comm., however, are simply paraphrasing St Paul, and P's notes on these verses owe little to those of O-R.

Note that O-R, discussing what is meant by the expression *peccato vivere*, says—p. 374—*peccato vivere dicitur is, qui secundum voluntatem peccati vivit*, and compare P 698. 43 f on v. 12, where he says that sin reigns in our mortal body *per oboedientiam scilicet et consensum*.

39. Rom. vi 3, 4. Referring to baptism P says—697. 27 ff—*Tribus modis baptismum accipitur in Scripturis, aquae, Spiritus sancti, . . . et sanguinis in martyrio*. Similarly in O-R V 8 pp. 380 f there are references to baptism by water and the Spirit. Both comm. take baptism here in the sense of a mystical baptism, involving our dying to sin and the beginning of a new life of holiness.

On the second part of v. 4 P writes—697. 39 ff—*ut quo modo Pater glorificatur in Filii resurrectione, ita et per nostrae conversationis novitatem ab omnibus honoretur, ut ne signa quidem veteris hominis agnoscantur in nobis*. With this compare O-R V 8 p. 387 *Surrexit Christus per gloriam Patris; et nos, si mortui sumus peccato et Christo consepulti, et omnes, qui vident opera nostra bona, glorificant patrem nostrum, qui in coelis est, merito Christo consurrexisse per gloriam Patris dicemur, ut in novitate vitae ambulemus. Novitas autem vitae est, ubi 'veterem hominem*

¹ Cf. also O-R IX 41 p. 362.

cum actibus suis' *deposuimus* . . . The various similarities in these extracts can hardly be regarded as coincidences.

Note the occurrence, in O-R V 8, of two words of which P is very fond, viz. *proficere*¹ (three times on p. 388) and *profectus* (twice on p. 389).

*40. Rom. vi 5, 6, 7. On 'simul et resurrectionis erimus'—v. 5—O-R writes a comm. with which that of P—697. 47 ff—is not out of harmony, and part of which—V 9 p. 391—was shewn in note 29 *ad fin.* to exhibit a verbal parallel with another passage in Pelagius.

O-R defines 'vetus homo noster' in v. 6 as follows—p. 394—*qui secundum Adam vixit praevaricationi obnoxius et peccato* . . . So P writes—697. 52 ff—*Qui veterem hominem terrenum Adam imitando peccabant*.

It is, however, in his alternative explanations of 'corpus peccati' in v. 6 that P is obviously indebted to O-R.

His first comment—698. 4 ff—is *Hoc est, ut omnia vitia destruantur, quia unum vitium membrum est peccati, omnia corpus*. This, as was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 76, agrees with Ambrosiaster, but, as he takes the expression in this sense only, while O-R discusses it in precisely the two senses in which it is explained by Pelagius, it is a reasonable inference that the source of P's comm. is to be found in O-R. Discussing the expression in the first sense, he says—p. 395—*Possunt autem membra, ex quibus corpus istud peccati constat, illa videri,*

¹ *Proficere* and its cognate *profectus* occur frequently in Pelagius. In the commentary on 'Romans' *profectus* is found at P 672. 2, 740. 36, and 669. 20 (interpolated). See also Ambstr.-Pelag. note 8 and foot-note 1. *Proficere* appears eight times in the genuine comments on 'Romans' and twice in interpolations. It is found usually with *ad* and an accusative, *vid.* P 686. 55, 702. 51, 724. 58, 732. 53, 739. 9; twice with *in* and an ablative, viz. P 669. 15, and 669. 22 (interp.); and is three times used absolutely, at P 734. 22, 742. 50, and 703. 18 (interp.).

In the commentary of Origen-Rufinus *proficere* occurs twenty-three times (once being in a citation of 2 Tim. iii 13—O-R X 6 p. 389). The verb is oftenest used absolutely, *vid.* O-R *Praefatio* p. 3, V 8 p. 388, VI 11 p. 65, VI 14 p. 83, VII 5 p. 108, VII 10 p. 137, IX 1 pp. 282, 288, IX 12 p. 315, X 6 p. 390; sometimes with *in* and an accusative, *vid.* O-R I 13 p. 42, V 8 p. 388 (*proficere in peius*), X 6 p. 389 (*bis*); rather oftener with *in* and abl., *vid.* O-R V 8 p. 388, V 10 p. 408, VI 7 p. 31, VIII 9 p. 256, IX 40 p. 353, X 35 p. 440; and most seldom with *ad* and accus., *vid.* O-R VII 16 p. 169, IX 2 p. 292, X 3 p. 381. *Profectus* also appears twenty-three times, viz. O-R *Praef.* p. 2 (*bis*), p. 4, I 16 p. 52, II 4 p. 80 (*bis*), IV 6 pp. 271, 273, IV 7 p. 277, V 8 p. 389 (*bis*), V 10 p. 401, VI 3 p. 11, VI 5 p. 20 (*bis*), VI 13 p. 79, VII 12 p. 150, VIII 7 p. 238, VIII 9 p. 256, VIII 12 p. 275, IX 2 pp. 292, 293, X 35 p. 441.

Ambrosiaster, as Professor Souter has pointed out in his *Study of Ambrosiaster* pp. 129-132, is very fond of *proficere*, and it may be added that he also uses *profectus*, which in his commentary on 'Romans' occurs in the following places—54. 7, 162. 38, 168. 12, 187. 16, 188. 11, 192. 15.

quae superius enumeravit Apostolus . . . , id est, fornicationem . . . et his similia. Twelve¹ sins are mentioned in this catalogue: P, with characteristic brevity, writes *omnia*.

In his alternative interpretation P—698. 7—defines ‘corpus peccati’ as *corpus nostrum*. O-R rather inclines to this view. He says—p. 396—*Si vero magis hoc corpus nostrum dixisse intelligitur . . .*

This idea he develops in a way that is very interesting. Referring to Lev. xii 8, he asks—p. 397—*Numquid nuper editus parvulus peccare iam potuit?* and continues, *Et tamen habet peccatum*, for there are in all *genuinae sordes peccati . . . ; propter quas etiam corpus ipsum corpus peccati nominatur, non* (as those think who believe in the transmigration of souls) *pro his, quae in alio corpore posita anima deliquerit.*² Apparently, then, O-R would agree with P 696. 59 ff (on Rom. v 15) that, *si anima non est ex traduce sed sola caro, ipsa tantum habet traducem peccati*, and with Ambrosiaster 119. 18 ff³ (on Rom. vii 22).

Note also that the quotation from Ioan. viii 34—‘*omnis, qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati*’—which occurs in P’s comm. on v. 6—P 698. 9 f— and which, as has already been shewn (Ambstr.-Pelag. note 78), appears also in Ambstr., is to be found in O-R VI 3 p. 10, where he is commenting on Rom. vi 16, 17, 18.

*41. Rom. vi 8–11. P does not seem to concern himself with the various questions raised by O-R in his long discussion—V 10—of these verses. The following points, however, may be noted.

On v. 9 P has an alternative comment—698. 23 ff—*Sive: Iam non potestis iterum baptizari, quia Christus non potest iterum cruci figi, sicut dicit ad Hebraeos: ‘Impossibile est eos, qui semel illuminati sunt’, et cetera.* So, on Rom. vi 1, 2 O-R writes—V 7 p. 378—quoting, with change of person, Heb. vi 4, 5, 6 *nos . . . qui semel illuminati sumus . . . (non) expectemus, ut iterum post lapsum renovemur ad poenitentiam, rursum crucifigentes in nobis ipsis Filium Dei . . .*

In his first alternative comm. on this verse P—698. 22—uses the word *voluntate* = willingly.¹ So O-R in several places, e.g. pp. 402, 406, 407.

On v. 11 O-R writes—p. 412—*quo scilicet imitatione Christi peccato moriamur, alieni ab eo effecti.* This last suggests a possible source of P’s definition—698. 12—of ‘iustificatus a peccato’ in v. 7 as *alienatus a peccato*. So on v. 11 P says—698. 36 ff—*vos scitote . . . debere iam semper vivere deo in Christo, in quo nostra absconsa est apud deum, quem induti eius sequamur exemplum.* This last clause contains, of course, the same idea as the opening words in the passage above

¹ In O-R VI 1 p. 2, on Rom. vi 12, 13, 14, there is a list of seventeen.

² *Vid.* note 34 *supra*.

³ *Vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 88

⁴ This, of course, is classical.

quoted from O-R; and for the quotation (again with change of person) from Col. iii 3, compare O-R p. 400, where the same change of person (*nostra* for *vestra*) occurs: *Cum Christus manifestatus fuerit, qui est vita nostra abscondita in Deo.*

On v. 7, after defining 'iustificatus' as *alienatus*, P continues—698. 12—*Mortuus enim omnino non peccat.* Similarly, on v. 11, O-R writes—p. 412—*Qui enim . . . existimat . . . mortuum se esse, non peccat.*

Lastly, it is just worth noting that at the beginning of his exposition O-R—p. 399—uses the expression *ostendere voluit*, with which compare the *vult ostendere* so often found in P. He also uses the verb *proficere* on p. 408, and on p. 401 the noun *profectus*, both favourite words with Pelagius, and there are several references to *libertas arbitrii*—pp. 408, 409, 411—with which compare P 698. 50 on v. 13, *et saepe.*

42. Rom. vi 12, 13, 14. On v. 12 P writes—698. 41 f—*In corpore mortali vivite ut immortales.* This may have been suggested by the alternative exposition of O-R VI 1 p. 5, where he says *dubium non est, quin demta mortalitate hoc ipsum, quod nunc mortale est, immortale efficiatur corpus.*

On the first part of v. 13 P has a characteristic comment—698. 48 ff—*Simul notandum. quod homo membra sua cui velit parti exhibeat per arbitrii libertatem.* So O-R, commenting on our freedom of choice says—VI 1 p. 2—that Paul shews in *nostra potestate positum, ut non regnet in nostro mortali corpore peccatum.* Compare O-R on Rom. vi 16, 17, 18—VI 3 p. 9—*unusquisque in manu sua habet et in arbitrii potestate, ut aut peccati servus sit aut iustitiae. Ad quamcunque enim partem inclinaverit oboedientiam, et cuicunque parti parere voluerit, haec sibi cum vindicat servum. In quo . . . in nobis esse ostendit arbitrii libertatem.* See also the end of note 41 for references to *arbitrii libertas* in the preceding comm. of O-R.

With the reference to *concupiscentia* in P 698. 54 ff compare the prominence given to the same *vitium* in O-R VI 1 p. 3.

P's comm. on v. 14 appears to be as independent of O-R as it is of Ambrosiaster.

43. Rom. vi 16, 17, 18. In his comm. on these verses—VI 3—O-R raises and discusses a large number of points which P disregards altogether. There is nevertheless a good deal in the older writer with which Pelagius must have been in sympathy. There is, for instance, the passage given in the last note from O-R VI 3 p. 9. Continuing, O-R says—p. 11—that we must remember our responsibility in the matter of yielding ourselves either to sin or to righteousness, *ne inanes querelas in peccati excusatione proferamus, quod diabolus fecerit ut peccaremus, aut naturae necessitas, aut fatalis conditio, aut cursus astrorum.* So on v. 19 P, after quoting from Sap. ix 15 'Corpus quod corrumpitur,

aggravat animam', writes—699. 56 ff—*Nos¹ sane exhibuimus membra nostra servire peccato, non sicut Manichaei dicunt naturam corporis insertum habere peccatum.* The quotation from Sap. ix 15, above referred to, occurs later in O-R VI 3 p. 13.

It may also be noted that both O-R p. 9 and Ambstr. 108. 49 f on Rom. vi 16 quote Matt. vi 24 'Nemo potest duobus dominis servire'—cf. O-R VI 5 p. 18 on Rom. vi 20, 21, 22.

44. Rom. vi 19. It has already been pointed out (Ambstr.-Pelag. note 79) that P's first alternative comm. on this verse—699. 42 ff—is in harmony with both Ambstr. and Origen-Rufinus. The point made by all three writers is that our new service to righteousness should not merely be as devoted as was our former service to sin, but, as O-R puts it, should be rendered *multo amplius et multo intentius*—VI 4 p. 15. It is likewise pointed out by all three that Paul recognizes our infirmity and makes concessions accordingly. One result of our new obedience is thus stated by O-R p. 16 *Circumspiciebant prius oculi mulierem, aut alienum aliquid, ad concupiscendum; nunc circumspiciant pauperes, debiles, egenos ad miserandum.* This recalls P on v. 13—698. 54 ff—*Ut oculus, qui ante videbat ad concupiscendum, nunc videat nudum ad vestiendum.* P concludes *Sic etiam de reliquis membris adverte;* O-R refers to feet, hands, eyes, ears, and tongue.

The conclusion of P's comm. was given in the last note, and there is a further parallel to it at the end of O-R VI 4 p. 17. This concluding sentence contains another reference to our *arbitrii libertas*, and ends *quod utique fieri non posset* (i. e. that we should turn from sin to righteousness), *si aut natura, ut quibusdam videtur, repugnaret, aut astrorum cursus obsisteret.* With this reference to 'certain people' compare P's allusion to the Manichaeans—699. 57 f—already quoted.

The suggestion made in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 79 of a family resemblance between Ambstr., O-R, and P in their comm. on this verse derives some support from the fact that Ambstr. quotes (with omissions) Matt. xi 29, 30—109. 42 ff—*Unde Dominus: 'Tollite', inquit, 'iugum meum super vos . . . quia suave est, et onus meum leve',* which may have some affinity with the following from O-R VI 4 p. 15 *Quid ergo tam humanum, hoc est, quid tam leve, quid tam sine onere . . . ?*

45. Rom. vi 20, 21, 22. Pelagius does not seem to have made much use of the comm. of O-R on these verses. There is just one point, referred to in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 80. On v. 21 P writes—700. 6 f—*Omnis enim, qui cognoscit bonitatem, in pristinis actibus erubescit.* So O-R VI 5 p. 18 says that a man, if he turns to righteousness, *erubescit . . . et ipse se notat de prioribus gestis.* Later—p. 19—he writes *pro male gestis praeteritis erubescit.*

¹ Vid. note 34 supra.

46. Rom. vi 23. On 'Stipendiâ enim peccati mors est' P writes—700. 21 f—*Qui peccato militat, remunerationem accipit mortem*. This is no doubt suggested by O-R, who draws attention to the military metaphor—VI 5 p. 24—where he uses the words *miles*, *militia*, and *militare*. Compare, in particular, the following *Peccatum ergo militibus suis . . . stipendia digna largitur mortem*.

P's comm. on 'Gratia autem dei vita aeterna' was shewn in note 23 *supra* to bear a remarkable resemblance to O-R IV 1 p. 239. There, and in his comm. on Rom. vi 23 as well, O-R (like Pelagius) points out that eternal life is undeserved, a gift of God, not *stipendia debita*.

***47. Rom. vii 1-6.** The comm. of O-R—VI 7—on these verses has obviously influenced Pelagius. It consists of a relatively brief *résumé* of Paul's argument (pp. 27-30), followed by a fuller discussion (pp. 30-41), and it is more than probable that P had a good deal of it in mind when he wrote his own comments on some, at least, of these opening verses. On v. 2, for instance, he says—700. 39 ff—*Per comparisonem, legis mandatum 'virum' appellat et plebem vel animam 'mulierem', ut ostendat legem sine effectu vindictae quasi mortuam, nobis iam mortificatis impedire non posse quominus ex integro ad Christum (qui resurrexit a mortuis) transeamus, quae merito nobis viveret, si inveniret quod punire posset in nobis*. Pelagius here assumes the death of the law, and also, apparently, of ourselves, and on v. 4 he continues—700. 55 ff—*Noluit (sc. Paulus) iuxta comparisonem legem illis dicere mortuam, sed quod inter Iudaeos dicere non audebat, intellectui dereliquit*. Similarly O-R begins by saying that the Law dies: *si accadat legem mori*—p. 29; *veluti mortua . . . lege secundum litteram*—p. 32, though he adds later on—p. 36—*quod legem nobis mortuam dicit, hoc idem vult intelligi, quod et nos mortui sumus legi . . .*

P's analysis of Paul's simile is exactly paralleled by O-R p. 32, where he takes *lex* = *vir* and *anima* = *mulier*. Pelagius, of course, has an alternative comm. on 'mulier'—*plebem vel animam*—and, again, on 'quanto tempore vivit' (v. 1) he writes—700. 36—*Homo, sive lex hominis*,¹ while O-R says definitely—p. 32—that the subject of 'vivit' is the Law. The reference in P to Christ, 'who has risen from the dead', recalls O-R p. 29 *qui a mortuis resurrexit*, and p. 37 *qui ex mortuis resurrexit*. Also the idea expressed by P in the clause *quominus ad Christum . . . transeamus* is the same as that conveyed by O-R p. 36 *anima hominis, si iam venit ad Christum* etc. There seems little doubt, then, that P's note—700. 39 ff—with the probable exception of *legem sine effectu vindictae quasi mortuam*² and, of course, *quar merito . . . in nobis*, is based on Origen-Rufinus.

On v. 3 P writes—700. 49 ff—*Quandiu vivit vir, tandiu illi secundum*

¹ Or *homini*.

² *Vid. Ambstr.-Pelag. note 81.*

eius solius necesse est vivere voluntatem. With this compare O-R pp. 29 f *secundum voluntatem ipsius vivere debetis.*

On v. 5 the interpolator writes—P 701. 12—*in carne non sumus.* So O-R says—p. 30—*iam non sumus in carne.* This, of course, is a reminiscence of Rom. viii 9.

*48. Rom. vii 7-13. Of the printed comments of Pelagius on these verses only about one half are genuine. The interpolated passages at P 701. 28-37, 39-46; 701. 58—702. 4, 702. 19-26, 27-29, 32-33, 38-43, 52-56; 703. 13-20, 23-27, are evidently by the same hand and bear obvious traces of indebtedness to Origen-Rufinus. Pelagius himself seems also to have been acquainted with the comm. of Origen-Rufinus, and there is one passage where he appears to have appropriated the actual words of the older writer. On 'Nam concupiscentiam nesciebam' etc. (v. 7) he writes—701. 56 ff—*non dixit: 'non habebam', aut, 'non faciebam', sed 'nesciebam', hoc est, nesciebam concupiscentiam esse peccatum.* With this compare O-R VI 8 pp. 43 f *Non dixit: 'non habebam': sed ait: 'nesciebam': tanquam quae esset quidem, ignoraretur tamen, quod esset concupiscentia.*

The relation of P's comm. on v. 8—702. 6-8—*Hic peccatum diabolum videtur appellare* etc. to Origen-Rufinus and Ambrosiaster was discussed in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 84.

One other resemblance between P and O-R may be noted. On 'Ut fiat supra modum peccans peccatum per mandatum'—v. 13—P writes—703. 22 f—*super modum est, cum scienter admittitur.* With this compare O-R p. 50 *Minus enim peccati est, si id, quod non prohibetur, admittas. Si vero vetita et interdicta commiseris, supra modum . . . peccator es: quia . . . praeceptum praevaricatus es.* With this last clause, again, compare P 702. 47 f on 'Ego autem mortuus sum'—v. 10—*Quia sciens praevaricavi.*

While the interpolator, as was said above, has made undoubted use of O-R, Pelagius himself shews only a faint trace of the influence of the idea so prominent in O-R, that the Law referred to in vv. 7-13 is the *lex naturalis*. On 'Sine lege enim peccatum mortuum erat'—v. 8—he says—P 702. 16 ff—*Paene lex in oblivionem ierat naturalis, quae prius suggerebat quid esset peccatum. Ideo lex litterae superducta est, ut commoneret oblitos.*

The interpolator, if the printed text can be trusted, is more explicit. He writes—P 701. 28 ff—*Nunc scriptae et naturalis legis facit mentionem, quia scripta lex et naturalem continet.* It is, however, in another respect that he shews obvious traces of dependence on O-R. In his comment—701. 43 ff—he points out that in saying 'I had not known sin' Paul *personam pueri assumit, qui per aetatis infirmitatem legi obnoxius non est.* This idea occurs repeatedly, e. g. at P 701. 31 f, 702. 22-26, 27-29, 32 f, 703. 13-16, 23-25. With the passage above quoted compare O-R p. 45 . . . *peccatum mortuum esse dicitur, quia lex nondum adest in puero* etc. The point made by the commentators is that sin is not apprehended by the young, who have

not as yet a knowledge of the law, and consequently cannot distinguish right and wrong. It is noteworthy that this has been previously pointed out by O-R in two places—III 2 pp. 175 f on Rom. iii 9-18, and V 1 pp. 333-338 on Rom. v 12, 13, 14—and his discussion here, as he himself says—VI 8 p. 45—is merely a recapitulation of the second of the two passages referred to above. It is unnecessary to quote in detail all the parallels between the two sets of comments: one other will suffice. The examples of the sins of youth given by O-R V 1 p. 334 (from Exod. xxi 15, 16) and repeated here (p. 45) are of those who strike father or mother or revile them. Compare with this P 702. 24 *Nam maledicente infante parentibus . . .*

The interpolator's comm. at P 702. 19 ff *si cum lex non esset, peccatum mortuum est, insaniunt qui de Adam per traducem asserunt ad nos venire peccatum*, is interesting as evidence that he was a Pelagian.

*40. Rom. vii 14-25. The comm. of P on these difficult verses are again largely interpolated, only about one half being genuine.¹ Points of contact have already been shewn to exist between Pelagius, genuine and interpolated, and Ambrosiaster, but there are also distinct traces of indebtedness on the part of P and, in particular, of the interpolator to O-R VI 9. There are, indeed, resemblances between all three sets of comments.

Very prominent in the exposition of O-R is the emphasis he lays on the conflict between the good will and the habit of sin. The former is *voluntas boni*, which he calls *lex mentis*—p. 58—referred to by P on 'legi mentis meae'—v. 23—as *Conscientiae scilicet naturali, vel legi divinae*,² *quae in mente consistit*—705. 5 ff. Contending with this is the habit of sin (*consuetudo peccandi*, p. 56), referred to repeatedly by P (*consuetudo peccatorum*, 703. 54; *carnalis consuetudo*, 704. 26; *consuetudo peccati*, 704. 39; *consuetudo delictorum*, 705. 9; *consuetudo mortifera corporalis*, 705. 12). This, both comm. point out, frequently conquers the good will—*vid.* O-R p. 54, P 704. 34 ff. The passage in P is interesting. He says—on v. 19—*Sicut, verbi gratia, si quis iam diu IURARE consuevit, etiam cum non optat, incurrit*. Compare with this what O-R says on the weakness of the *voluntas boni*—p. 54—*nec talis est, quae dicat: 'est, est: non, non': et ideo non potest operari quae vult, sed quae non vult*. P's comment—704. 25 f—*Est voluntas, sed non est effectus*, which was shewn⁴ to have a parallel in Ambrosiaster, is also in accord with O-R p. 53 *ad fin.*, and p. 55, where he says, *Est . . . talis quaedam infirmitas (sc. voluntatis) . . . ut non statim voluntatem sequatur effectus*. Compare also—p. 59—*voluntas . . . adiacet boni, sed nondum in effectum venerit boni*.

P agrees with O-R in his description of the conflict between the good will and the habit of sin, but it is to be noted that he goes

¹ The interpolated passages are at P 703. 28-43, 704. 1 f, 3-8, 11-16, 22-24, 27-30, 43-45, 46-49, 704. 52-705. 2, 705. 14-20. 26 f.

² *Vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 89.

³ Matt. v 37.

⁴ Ambstr.-Pelag. note 86.

beyond him in the matter of the sinner's responsibility for the frequent triumph of the lower self. In his comm. on *v.* 20 he says—P 704. 39 f—*Non ego, quia velut invitatus, sed consuetudo peccati, quam tamen necessitatem ipse mihi paravi.*¹ So on 'Venundatus sub peccato', *v.* 14, he writes—703. 53—*sponde memet ipse subiciens.*

The interpolator is equally clear on this point: *vid.* P 703. 31 *propria voluntate peccante(m?)*; 704. 47 ff *non per necessitatem peccat, sed propria voluntate ducitur ad peccatum, cum vult esse carnis amator.* Like Pelagius, however, he also appears to shew traces of the influence of O-R. He refers to the good will as *voluntas spiritus*—P 704. 7; *animae voluntas*—P 704. 44, and the habit of sin he calls *peccandi consuetudo*—P 704. 22 f. His comm. on *v.* 16—704. 4 ff—*Si ea, quae lex praecipit contraria voluntati carnis, custodire voluero secundum carnem, 'quod nolo, illud facio': secundum vero voluntatem spiritus, legi Dei spirituali atque bonae consentio*, brings out the same point as O-R VI 9 pp. 52 f *Ipsa namque est, quae ei, qui spiritualiter illam intelligit, lex spiritualis est et spiritus vivificans: qui vero carnaliter, lex litterae et littera occidens esse memoratur.*

O-R, who is always careful to defend Paul from the charge of inconsistency, points out that the Apostle is here speaking in a variety of persons—*vid.* pp. 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61. With this compare the interpolator at P 703. 28 f, 704. 22 ff, 705. 26 f².

It may also be noted that on 'consentio legi quoniam bona', *v.* 16, P writes—703. 58 f—*. . . cum lege sentio, quae mala et non vult, et prohibet.* With this compare O-R p. 54 . . . *consentit legi Dei, quia bona est, quae prohibet malum*; and see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 85.

Lastly, note two resemblances between Ambstr. and O-R. On *v.* 14 A writes—117. 19—*homo autem fragilis est*; with which compare O-R p. 58 *Paulus, assumpta fragiliore³ persona.* On *v.* 20 Ambstr. says—119. 6 ff—*Apostolus . . . haec exponit de quantis malis hominem liberaverit, . . . quae vero beneficia per Christum consecutus est.* So O-R writes—VI 9 p. 59—*propterea haec omnia descripsit Apostolus, et mala . . . exposuit, ut . . . doceret, de quantis nos malis . . . Christus eripuit.*

*50. Rom. viii 1. In his comm. on *v.* 1, 2 O-R says—VI 11 p. 63—*pronuntiat (sc. Paulus) in his nihil damnatione esse dignum . . .*, P's language is almost identical—705. 34 f—*nihil in illis damnatione dignum est . . .*

*51. Rom. viii 3-9. O-R gives two expositions of these verses. In the first—VI 12 pp. 67-73—he says that Paul divides the Law—*v.* 3—or rather the observance of it, into two parts, one of which is *secundum spiritum* and the other *secundum carnem* or *secundum litteram*, in which latter respect, he declares—p. 70—*impossibilis erat lex et infirma.* P does not adopt this explanation, but he nevertheless

¹ *Vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 87.

² P himself on *v.* 25 writes—705. 23 f—*Unde probatur, quia ex alterius persona loquatur apostolus, non in sua.* Cf. also P 703. 47 f, 51 ff.

³ Cf. O-R VII 18 p. 178—on Rom. ix 22-26—*Scit sine dubio (sc. Deus fragile esse hominum genus . . .*

appears to have been influenced by certain other portions of this comm. of O-R. On 'in similitudine carnis peccati'—v. 3—O-R writes of Christ as follows—p. 69—*Verum qui ex nulla viri contagione . . . venit ad corpus immaculatum, naturam quidem corporis nostri habuit, pollutionem tamen peccati . . . omnino non habuit.* With this compare P 706. 13 f *Similem ergo ceteris hominibus carnem accepit, quantum ad naturam.*

The interpolator furnishes a still closer parallel. He says—P 705. 50 f—that Christ is said to have come and condemned sin in the flesh, *quoniam carnem, quam suscepit, innoxiam servaverit ab omni contagione peccati.* Compare also P 705. 47. 706. 10 f, where he says that Christ assumed the likeness of sinful flesh *absque peccato.*

A similar interpretation to that of O-R is given by Ambrosiaster, for which see Ambstr.-Pelag. note 92.

P's first explanation¹ of 'et de peccato damnavit peccatum in carne', v. 3, is—706. 17 ff—*Sicut hostiae, quas pro peccato offerebant in lege, peccati nomine vocabantur, . . . sic et Christi caro, quae pro peccatis nostris oblata est, peccati nomen accepit.* Note that in this comm. the text reading 'de peccato' is transformed into *pro peccato* or *pro peccatis*, and compare the following from O-R p. 69 'et de peccato', *vel—ut verius habetur apud Graecos—'et pro peccato damnavit peccatum in carne'.* This is quite obviously an interpolation by Rufinus. The exposition which follows represents Christ as a *hostia* offered, or offering himself, for sin, the word *hostia* occurring five times on pp. 69, 70, and once again on p. 73. The closest verbal parallel to the words of P are to be found in O-R VI 12 p. 70 *Per hanc enim hostiam carnis, quae oblata est pro peccato*, etc., but the other five references are all in more or less similar terms, the verb *offerre* appearing in four of them.

The alternative exposition of O-R—VI 12 pp. 73 f—commences by stating that the 'impossibility of the Law' may be understood as referring to the *lex mentis, quam supra dixit* (sc. *Paulus*) *velle facere bonum. sed per infirmitatem . . . carnis implere non posse . . .*

To this the interpolator again furnishes a close parallel. He says—P 705. 40 ff—*Hic ostendit quoniam lex per infirmitatem carnis non poterat impleri.*

This second interpretation of O-R, which comes to more or less the same conclusion as his first one, is that favoured by P, who points out—706. 31 f—*voluntatem esse in crimine, non naturam.* Compare also P 706. 34 f *Ut quoniam in illis, repugnante carnali consuetudine, impleri non potuit* (sc. *lex*) etc.

Lastly, on 'Vos autem in carne non estis', v. 9, O-R writes—p. 74—*non secundum carnem vivitis, sed secundum spiritum.* With this compare P 707. 10 on v. 8 *quia quibus hoc dicit* (sc. *Paulus*), *utique in carne vivebant*, and also on 'in spiritu', v. 9—P 707. 14—*Hoc est, in spiritualibus occupati.*

¹ Referred to in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 92.

There is, therefore, strong cumulative evidence that both Pelagius and the interpolator knew and were to some extent influenced by this comment of O-R.

***52. Rom. viii 9-11.** On 'Si tamen Spiritus dei habitat in vobis', v. 9, P writes—707. 17 ff—*In illo Spiritus dei habitat, in quo eius apparent fructus, sicut ait ad Galatas: 'Fructus autem Spiritus est caritas, gaudium', et cetera.*¹ With this compare O-R VI 14 p. 82 f—on Rom. viii 12, 13—*Mortificat autem quis actus carnis hoc modo. Fructus Spiritus est caritas . . . Gaudium similiter fructus est Spiritus . . .* The list which follows includes *patientia*; for which cf. P 707. 22 f *Spiritus Christi spiritus . . . patientiae omniumque virtutum est . . .* This, taken in conjunction with the fact that O-R VI 13 pp. 76, 77 considers *Spiritus Dei*, *Spiritus Christi*, and *Christus* in these verses to mean the same thing, makes it probable that the comm. of P above quoted owes something to O-R.

The interpolator, it may be noted, also touches O-R. On v. 9 he says—P 707. 15 ff—*Hic ostendit quoniam Spiritus sanctus Patris et Filii sit.*

On 'Spiritus vero vita propter iustificationem', v. 10, P says—707. 34 f—*Spiritus vivit, ut iustitiam operetur.* So O-R VI 13 p. 77 has *Quod si corpus peccato mortuum est, necessario spiritus ad faciendam iustitiam vivit.*

P's comm. on v. 11 also shews traces of dependence on O-R. He writes—P 707. 42 ff—*Si tam puri sitis, ut in vobis Spiritus sanctus habitare dignetur, non patitur deus templum sui Spiritus interire . . .* With this compare O-R VI 13 p. 78 *Si enim Spiritus Christi habitat in nobis, necessarium videtur, Spiritui reddi habitaculum suum, templumque restitui.* For a parallel to the first clause in the comm. of P just quoted vid. O-R p. 79, where he says *Unde mihi videtur, quod . . . quanto purior anima redditur, tanto largior ei Spiritus infundatur.*

53. Rom. viii 12, 13. The writer of the interpolated comm. on these verses—P 707. 49—708. 7—again touches O-R. On v. 12 he says—P 707. 49 ff—*manifeste nunc ostendit, quia non de communi et naturali morte superius fecerit mentionem . . .* Compare O-R VI 14 p. 83, where he remarks that the death mentioned in this verse is not *istam communem*. It may also be noted that the passage from 1 Cor. vii 34, quoted in the interpolated comm. on v. 13—P 707. 56 f—is paralleled in O-R VIII 9 p. 255, on Rom. xi 13, 14, 15.

***54. Rom. viii 14, 15, 16.** The whole of O-R VII 1 is occupied with a discussion of the various senses of the word 'spiritus' in these verses. On p. 86 he says *Est ergo Spiritus Dei idem, qui est et Spiritus Christi, idemque ipse et Spiritus sanctus est. Sed et spiritus adoptionis idem dici videtur . . .* P's comm. on v. 14—708. 15 f—implies that *Spiritus dei* is identical with *sanctus Spiritus*.

So also the interpolator—P 708. 17 ff.

¹ Cf. Gal. v 22, 23.

A more obvious point of contact with O-R is found in P's comm. on v. 15. Contrasting the service of love with the service of fear, he quotes from Mal. i 6—P 708. 27 f—'Servus dominum suum timebit, et filius diligit patrem suum'. So O-R VII 2 p. 89 quotes Mal. i 6 down to 'dicit Dominus omnipotens'.

P's comm. also—708. 36 f—*Qui vocat patrem, filium se esse proficitur* is in accord with O-R p. 90 *Neque enim patrem alius quis nisi filius vocat*.

There is an interesting point of contact between O-R and the Interpolator at P 708. 22 ff *Iudaei . . . cum essent sub lege velut sub paedagogo agentes, spiritum timoris habebant*. For this allusion to the *paedagogus* compare O-R VII 2 p. 89.

55. Rom. viii 17, 18. In Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 102, 103 several resemblances were shewn to exist between the comm. of P, O-R, and Ambstr. on these verses. In addition to what was stated there note also the emphasis which both P and O-R lay on 'merits'. On v. 17 P says—708. 46 ff—*Qui meretur esse filius, meretur effici heres patris* etc., and in his comm. on v. 18 he again uses the verb *mercor*—709. 3. Compare O-R VII 3 p. 91, where he writes *Haeres quis efficitur Dei, cum quae Dei sunt, meretur accipere . . .* In two other places in this comm.—pp. 91, 92—*mereor* also occurs, and it is found again in the same connexion in O-R VII 4 p. 97.

***56. Rom. viii 19-22.** As was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 106, P appears to have interpreted 'creatura' in these verses in the sense of *angeli*. He seems, however, to have had some difficulty in making up his mind, and there is some excuse for him, if he attempted to base his comm. on O-R VII 4. The position of O-R is not easy to define. He begins by taking 'creatura' to mean *rationabilis creatura*—p. 97. This appears later as *creatura animae nobilis et rationabilis*—p. 100, which, as he says—p. 99—*subiecta est servituti corporis corruptibilis*. Then, apparently widening the meaning of 'creatura', he continues—p. 101—*vide ipsius solis et lunae ac stellarum coeli et totius mundi ministeria, quomodo subiecta sunt vanitati, corruptionique deserviunt. Ad usus namque hominum alunt segetes . . .* Below, on the same page, he writes *Ipsos quoque angelos . . . huic corruptioni esse subiectos*, because they are all ministering spirits (Heb. i 14): and, finally, he includes the archangels. *Per haec ergo singula*, he concludes—p. 102—*deprehenditur rationabilis 'creatura vanitati esse subiecta . . .'* After another reference—p. 102—to *rationabilis creatura*, he raises the question why, after three times referring simply to 'creatura', Paul now—v. 22—says 'omnis creatura'. His answer is—pp. 103 f—*non omnis quidem creatura est, quae ingemiscit et dolet, haec est, quae necessitati corporis corruptibilis subiacet: omnis autem creatura est, quae dolentibus condolet . . . Omnis autem creatura superior . . .*

dolet cum vincimur, cum vero vincimus gaudet. 'Creatura' is, then, *rationabilis creatura* with certain additions, while 'omnis creatura' is *omnis creatura superior*.

These extracts, not all consistent with each other, are given at length from the exposition of O-R because he appears to touch both Ambrosiaster and Pelagius. P's references, for instance, to *angeli* have doubtless been suggested by O-R. On v. 19, defining 'creatura', he says—P 709. 15—*Sive: Angelica rationabilis creatura.* With the reference in O-R to 'ministering spirits' compare P on v. 20—709. 49—*angeli hominibus ministrantes.* Note that P makes no distinction between 'creatura'—vv. 19–21—and 'omnis creatura' in v. 22. On this verse he writes—709. 56f—*Sicut gaudent angeli super paenitentes, ita dolent super converti nolentes.* This is very much in the spirit of the passage above quoted from O-R: *Omnis autem creatura superior* etc. Lastly, on v. 23 P says—710. 7f—*Non solum angeli . . . de huius modi dolent.*

The interpolator, referred to in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 106, is interesting. He says on v. 19—P 709. 32 ff—that Paul *de rationali creatura sermonem fecit, et non, sicut quidam existimant, de irrationali vel insensibili, quae ad servitutem hominum creata est, et post haec peritura, quando sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellae coeli cadent super terram . . .* As this is the opinion of Ambstr. 131. 11–31, and also of O-R (see the passage above quoted, where he also refers to sun, moon, and stars), it is obvious that Ambstr. and O-R are among the *Quidam* here alluded to.

Note that the interpolator, who in many ways is independent of P, O-R. and Ambstr., takes *vanitas* in v. 20 in the sense of *pravariatio*, and, referring to the sin of Eve, quotes from Gen. iii 5—P 709. 41–48. This verse is also quoted by O-R V 1 p. 325 on Rom. v 12, where he is explaining how sin entered into this world.

57. Rom. viii 23–25. P's comm. on these verses were shewn to touch Ambstr. (see Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 106, 107), and in some respects also they appear to accord with O-R VII 5. O-R gives three interpretations of 'et nos ipsi, primitias spiritus habentes'—v. 23—and in the second of these, where he takes 'nos' in the sense of *Apostoli*, he writes—p. 108—*etiam nos ipsi, qui summa a Spiritu sancto et electa dona percepimus, tamen exspectantes . . . perfectionem eorum, quos docer. et instituere missi sumus, . . . necessario dolemus et gemimus.* So P, continuing the comm. quoted in the last note, says—710. 8 ff—*sed etiam nos, qui iam spiritum sanctum habemus, de talibus ingemiscimus . . .*

The interpolator also writes to the same effect—P 710. 18 ff—*Discipuli autem Christi primitias dicuntur habere spiritus, id est, prima et praeclara carismata, per quae dilaverunt omnem terram.*

***58. Rom. viii 26, 27.** As was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 108, there is a very close resemblance between the comm. of Ambstr., O-R, and P on v. 26. One further point of contact between

P and O-R may be given. On 'Nam quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus' P's note commences—710. 51—*Quia adhuc per speculum videmus . . .* This reminiscence of 1 Cor. xiii 12 is paralleled by O-R VII 5 p. 110, on Rom. viii 23, 24, 25, where the first half of the verse is quoted.

P's comm. on *v.* 27 begins—711. 8 ff—*Hic gratiam spiritus spiritum nominavit, sicut alibi dicit: 'Si¹ oravero lingua, spiritus meus orat', et alibi: 'aemulatores² estis spirituum.'* This is doubtless derived from O-R, who says—VII 5 pp. 106 f—*Legimus apud ipsum. Apostolum Paulum dona vel gratias sancti Spiritus multis spiritus nominari, ut cum dicit: 'nunc autem quoniam aemulatores estis spirituum . . .':* and, in his comm. on *vv.* 26, 27, writes—VII 6 p. 117—*Paulus . . . dicebat: 'Nam si linguis loquar, spiritus meus orat . . .': spiritum suum dicens gratiam sancti Spiritus . . .* The conclusion of P's comm. 711. 11–14 is obviously derived from Augustine *Propos.* liv 37–40, so that in writing his notes on *vv.* 26, 27 Pelagius has drawn upon Ambrosiaster, Augustine, and Origen-Rufinus.

The interpolator at P 710. 56 f and 711. 1–5 gives an explanation of how the Spirit helpeth our infirmities, which, though different from that of P, may have been suggested by O-R VII 6 pp. 116 f. His next comment, on *v.* 27, touches both P and O-R. He commences—P 711. 18—*Item gratiam Spiritus nominat Spiritum.* which are Pelagius's own words—711. 9—already quoted. Then he continues—P 711. 18 ff—*qui docet pro nobis Domino postulare . . .*, and finishes up by quoting the whole of 1 Cor. xiv 12.

*59. **Rom. viii 28, 29, 30.** A comparison of the comm. of P on these verses with the corresponding exposition of O-R—VII 7 on *vv.* 28, 29, VII 8 on *v.* 30—suggests that while P shews no trace of anything approaching to language-dependence³ on O-R, he must have found much in the older commentator which accorded with, and no doubt helped to determine, his own particular point of view. For close parallels one has to turn to Ambrosiaster and Augustine—*vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 109, where it was pointed out among other things that P's definition of 'quos praescivit' in *v.* 29 as *quos praesciverat credituros*—P 711. 31—is identical with the interpretation of Ambstr. and, at one time, of Augustine.

In spite, however, of the difficulties and fine distinctions treated of by O-R VII 7, 8, and ignored by P, it is fairly obvious that in the main P's comm. are in harmony with Origen-Rufinus.

On *v.* 28 P is quite clear that the words 'secundum propositum' refer to the purpose of God. He writes—711. 30 f—*Secundum quod proposuit sola fide salvare, quos praesciverat credituros.* O-R is not quite so explicit. He first takes the words to mean *secundum propositum bonum*

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. xiv 14.

² Cf. 1 Cor. xiv 12.

³ See, however, the next note.

*et bonam voluntatem quam circa Dei cultum gerunt*¹—VII 8 p. 128. On the next page, however, he admits that they may refer to the purpose of God, *qui sciens in iis religiosam mentem et salutis inesse desiderium . . .*, and this interpretation, as he says, is not inconsistent with the first. At any rate it is in accord with that of P just quoted. God's purpose is determined by His foreknowledge of the characters and merits of men.² O-R, apart from the second alternative just given, is not inclined to explain the word *praescire* in its ordinary sense (which, of course, P does); elsewhere he defines it—p. 130—as *in affectum recipere sibi que sociare*, but along with a previous and similar interpretation (quoted in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 109) we find *sciens quales essent*—p. 128.

Again, in commenting on v. 29 P quotes from Phil. iii 21—711. 37 ff—*quia* 'transformabit corpus humilitatis nostrae conforme corpori claritatis suae'. There is a recollection of this passage in O-R VII 8 p. 131 on Rom. viii 30—*cum corpus hoc humilitatis nostrae, quod* 'seminatur in contumelia, surget in gloria'—and the whole of it has already been quoted by O-R VII 3 pp. 91 f on Rom. viii 16, 17.

On v. 30 O-R says that even if *praescire* is to be understood in the ordinary sense, *non propterea erit aliquid, quia id scit Deus futurum*—p. 129—any more than it would be true to say that Judas was a traitor because it was so foretold by the prophets. Judas, he continues, had it in his power to be like Peter or John, *si voluisset*, and, in conclusion, he asserts—p. 130—*non in praescientia Dei unicuique salutis causa ponitur, sed in proposito et actibus suis . . .* This idea of the power of the will is, of course, characteristic of Pelagius: *vid.* P 698. 48 ff on Rom. vi 13; 706. 32 f on Rom. viii 3 *quae* (sc. *natura*) *talis a deo facta est, ut possit non peccare, si velit*. So also on this verse he writes—711. 49 f—*Vocatio autem volentes colligit, non invitos*. The will is free to refuse the invitation.

On Rom. ix 12 he says—715. 37 f—*Praescientia dei non praeiudicat peccatori, si converti voluerit*.

On Rom. ix 10 P says—715. 23 f—*ut propositum dei de eligendis bonis et refutandis malis etiam in praescientia iam maneret*.

This recalls O-R VII 7 on Rom. viii 28, 29, where he says—p. 123—that Paul *de bonis tantum dicit*: 'praesciit quos et praedestinavit . . .'

Lastly, on v. 30, P, continuing his comment, writes—711. 51 f—*Hoc ideo dicit* (sc. *Paulus*) *propter fidei inimicos, ne fortuitam dei gratiam iudicarent*. With this compare the passage in O-R I 3 p. 18 *ut*.

¹ In this connexion, as is pointed out in Sanday and Headlam, p. 217, anticipating Augustine, 'distinguishes two kinds of call, one *secundum propositum* the call of the elect, and the other of those who are not elect'. Pelagius makes no such distinction.

² *Vid.* Sanday and Headlam, p. 216.

Rom. i 1, commencing *Si enim, ut haeretici putant, vel sortis incerto . . . fuisset electus* (sc. *Paulus*). In this passage, referred to in note 1 *supra*, O-R states his view of foreknowledge in similar terms to those used in his comm. on Rom. viii 28, 29, i.e. that it is a foreknowledge of merits. Similarly at the beginning of his comm. on v. 30—VIII 8 p. 126—O-R argues against those *qui negant esse in hominis potestate, ut salvus fiat*.

*60. Rom. viii 31, 32. P's comm. on v. 31 is interesting. He writes—711. 57 ff—*Vult ostendere, quod nemo possit impedire eos, qui, diligentes deum, diliguntur a deo, quo minus gloriam, quae promissa est, consequantur, eo quod perfecta quae in illis est caritas omnem causam mortalis timoris foras expellat*. The conclusion of this note (from *eo quod*) has doubtless been suggested by O-R VII 7 p. 120 on vv. 28, 29, and this confirms the suggestion made in the last note that P was at least acquainted with that comm. of O-R. In the passage referred to O-R is discussing two kinds of call, one, of those who 'have received the spirit of bondage to fear' (Rom. viii 15), and the other, the call of those who 'have received the Spirit of adoption', and are therefore on a higher plane, *ex eo . . . quod* 'perfecta in iis caritas foras mittit timorem'. This quotation from 1 Ioan. iv 18 has already occurred in O-R IV 9 p. 301 on Rom. v 3, 4, 5, and is found again in O-R VII 12 pp. 146f and 149 on Rom. viii 38, 39.

P explains 'tradidit' in v. 32 as *Permisit tradi*—712. 5. Compare O-R VII 9 p. 134—on Rom. viii 31, 32—*tradidisse eum dicitur hoc ipso, quod . . . passus est eum . . . usque ad mortem crucis pervenire*.

P also, like O-R p. 135, explains—712. 8 f—that Christ was delivered up for us all, not for a select few.

61. Rom. viii 33, 34. There are two points of contact, just worth mentioning, between P's notes on these verses and O-R VII 10. On v. 33 P writes—712. 16—*quis pro PRISTINIS audebit accusare delictis . . . ?* Compare O-R VII 10 p. 137 *quis erit ultra qui audeat condemnare?* On the next page he says *In hoc tibi opitulabitur advocatus, . . . ne tibi PRAETERITA peccata . . . impulentur*.

On 'qui etiam interpellat pro nobis'—v. 34—O-R p. 138 speaks of Christ in the character of *sacerdos*. This idea is expressed by P in his comm. 712. 28–31, where Christ is depicted in the character of *pontifex*.

Compare also the interpolator at P 711. 43 ff—on Rom. viii 29—*Filius dei . . . interpellat pro nobis, . . . quasi summus sacerdos*.

P's notes on vv. 35–39 appear to owe nothing to the corresponding comm. of O-R—VII 11 on vv. 35, 36, 37, and VII 12 on vv. 38, 39.

62. Rom. ix 6–13. P's comm. on Rom. ix 1–5, as was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 113, shew several traces of the influence of Ambrosiaster, but there is no indication that either P or the interpolator

on v. 1—P 713. 46–52—has borrowed anything from the exposition given by O-R VII 13.

The interpolator on v. 6 writes—P 714. 19 ff—*ostendit* (sc. *Apostolus*) . . . *his promissa deberi, non qui secundum carnem ex Abraham, Isaac, et Israel nati sunt, sed qui servantes fidem patriarcharum* . . . This comm. shews a marked resemblance to Ambstr. 139. 18 ff (*vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 114), and there is a further parallel in O-R VII 14 p. 159 *de his nunc dicit, quia verbum Dei non excidit, hoc est, promissio, quae iis facta est, non evanuit. Qui enim verus fuerit Israel, non ex carnali genere tantum de Abraham genus ducens, . . . sed qui secundum repromissionem fidei de Abraham descendit, ipse etiam Dei promissa consequitur.*

On vv. 9–13 O-R writes what is for him a very short comment—VII 15 pp. 160–163. He states, however, towards the end of his note, that the problem of the divine election has already been discussed by him (on Rom. viii 29, 30—*vid.* note 59 *supra*), and he will not weary the reader by recapitulation. The comm. of P, genuine and interpolated, have already been shewn (Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 114, 115) to touch Ambrosiaster, and the few apparent points of contact between them and O-R *ad loc.* do not justify the assumption that they owe anything to the corresponding comm. of Origen-Rufinus.

*68. Rom. ix 14–19. The relation of P's comm. on these verses to Ambrosiaster was discussed in Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 116–119, where some reference was also made to the exposition of O-R vii 16, which has obviously influenced both Pelagius and the interpolator. The salient features in the interpretation of O-R are (1) that he puts vv. 14–19 into the mouth of an opponent of St Paul (with the exception, of course, of the 'absit' of v. 14, which he says—p. 165—is to be understood as applying to all the other 'objections' of these verses)—*vid.* O-R VII 16 pp. 164, 165, 166; (2) he insists throughout on the freedom of the will, and (3) God's foreknowledge is again a foreknowledge of character.¹ In all these respects he is followed by Pelagius.

In his opening comment—on v. 14—he says—P 716. 1 ff—*etiam Paulus* was afraid *ne . . . putarent eum dicere, quod alios deus bonos faceret et alios malos, . . . et proponit sibi ex adverso testimonia, quibus illi affirmari solebant, quibus exemplis per breves obiectiones respondens ostendit se intellegi non debere.* Then on v. 15 there follows a comment—P 716. 13–16—already shewn to be in accord with Ambstr. 140. 33 ff in which P renders the verse (in effect) 'I will have mercy on him whom I have foreknown to be deserving of mercy'. This is a sentence well O-R p. 168, where he writes *Certum est, Deum non scire nisi bonos, cuiusque propositum ac voluntatem, sed et praescire.* The argument which he represents St Paul as combating is this—*quia scit Deus*

¹ *Vid.* O-R VII 17 p. 175 on Rom. ix 20, 21, where he says the Jews were made a vessel unto honour because *anima eius emendata erat.*

—*Illud sine dubio contradictio ista molitur, quod in homine non sit libertas arbitrii, nec habeat unusquisque in sua potestate, ut aut salvetur aut pereat.* So in his comm. on vv. 18, 19 P says—717. 22 ff—*ita vestra propositio concludetur, ut dicatis malitiae vestrae non vos esse causam, sed domini voluntatem . . .* This conclusion P, of course, combats—717. 25. P's alternative comm. on v. 16 (which, unlike O-R, he reads as a question) has already been shewn¹ to accord with O-R pp. 167 f, where he points out, quoting Ps. cxxvii 1 and 1 Cor. iii 6, 7, that man can do but his best: he must leave the rest to God.

On God's dealings with Pharaoh—v. 17—P says that this verse is explained by different people in different ways, and the first of these interpretations has been shewn to contain a passage—P 717. 10–12—which is obviously indebted to Ambstr. 144. 35 ff. In both comments P states—717. 7 and 16 f—that God *knew* how Pharaoh would behave. This is also insisted on by O-R pp. 168 ff. Both the interpretations given by Pelagius, curiously enough, contain passages which can be paralleled in O-R. P says, for instance, that Pharaoh having filled up the measure of his misdeeds, God determined, *quasi de iam perituro, aliis providere, ut populus eius agnosceret et iustitiam ipsius atque virtutem . . .*, and His treatment of Pharaoh was as if a judge, *cum possit criminis statim punire, ad omnium timorem diversis poenis adficiat*—P 717. 3–14. This is exactly in the spirit of O-R, who represents God—p. 169—as *volens . . . interitum eius ad emendationem proficere ceterorum . . .* In the alternative comm. P says—717. 14 ff—*Sive: Dei patientia induratus est. Cessante enim plaga dei durior fiebat et, quamvis sciret cum non converti, tamen etiam in ipso suam clementiam voluit demonstrare.* Compare O-R p. 170 *Noluit Deus in eum subitam et plenam dare vindictam. Quamvis enim esset consummatae malitiae, tamen per patientiam suam Deus nec ipsi facultatem conversionis excluderat . . . Sed quod Deus gerebat per patientiam, ex hoc ille indurabatur . . .* Thus, says O-R, one can adapt to Pharaoh Paul's words in Rom. ii 4, 5, which he quotes in full—p. 171—and again refers to God's *patientia*. The last sentence in O-R VII 16 is characteristic: *Ut boni . . . aut mali simus, nostrae voluntatis est: malus autem ad cuiusmodi verbera, et bonus ad cuiusmodi gloriam destinetur, voluntatis est Dei.*

The interpolator shews marked traces of dependence on O-R. Like Pelagius, he agrees with O-R in putting vv. 14–19 into the mouth of an opponent of St. Paul—P 716. 17, 32 f; 717. 27 f. He is also a strong upholder of the freedom of the will—P 716. 43 f, 49 f. On v. 15 he writes—716. 19 ff—*Non enim Apostolus tollit, quod in propria voluntate habemus, qui superius dicit: 'Ignoras, quia bonitas dei te ad poenitentiam adducit?'* This quotation from Rom. ii 4, as was pointed out above, occurs along with v. 5 in the comm. of O-R. Then follows—P 716. 23 ff—

¹ Ambstr.-Pelag. note 117.

a quotation from 2 Tim. ii 20, 21, which is found in the next comm. of O-R—VII 17 p. 174 on Rom. ix 20, 21. Verse 21 is also quoted on p. 175.

64. Rom. ix 20, 21. Pelagius cannot apparently make up his mind whether St Paul is here speaking in his own person or not. In his second alternative comment on v. 20 he quotes the opinion of *Quidam* who say that Paul replies to the objections of vv. 14–19, that even if they were true, *non debere eos suo respondere factori, eo quod tales sinus ad comparationem dei, quale ad suum artificem est luti figmentum*—P 717. 46–50. This, as was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 120, is the opinion of Ambstr. and of O-R. The latter also says—O-R VII 17 p. 172—*Hoc est . . . homo apud Deum, quod apud figulum lutum*, which accords with the passage from P 717. 49 f given above.

65. Rom. ix 22–26. There is little in the comm. of either O-R or P on these verses which calls for special mention. On v. 22 P writes—718. 1 ff—*Quia illum diu sustinuit blasphemantem* etc., referring the verse to Pharaoh, who by his acts rendered himself a 'vessel of wrath'. So O-R, after commenting on vv. 23, 24, says—VII 18 p. 178—*Superiora . . . quasi de Pharaone, qui fuit vas irae, et de filiis Israel, qui erant vasa misericordiae, persecutus videtur* (sc. *Paulus*). See also Ambstr.-Pelag. note 121.

66. Rom. ix 27–33. P's notes on these verses do not seem to owe much to O-R VII 19. Such points of contact as do exist have already been mentioned in Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 122, 123, and need not be repeated here. It may be added, however, that in his comm. on vv. 32, 33 P quotes—719. 39 ff—from 1 Cor. i 23, 24. These verses are frequently quoted by O-R. Verse 24 occurs, for instance, in O-R I 5 p. 24 and in half a dozen other places in his comm., while there are two reminiscences of v. 23 in the same note—O-R VIII 5 pp. 223, 226 on Rom. x 16–21.

67. Rom. x 1–3. P's notes on these verses seem little indebted to the corresponding comm. of O-R VIII 1. On v. 2 he writes of the Jews—P 719. 56—*Habent aemulationem SECTANDAE LEGIS*. This reminiscence of Rom. ix 31 may perhaps have been suggested by the quotation of the verse in O-R VIII 1 p. 192, but the phrase may easily have occurred to P independently of O-R.

Concluding his comm. P writes—719. 59 f—*periclitatur revera, si quid sine scientia fiat, quia saepe vertitur in contraria*. This looks like a summing-up of the long discussion in O-R on 'non secundum scientiam', with the conclusion—p. 195—*Et ideo danda est praecipue opera scientiae, ne res nobis infelicititer accidat . . .*

***68. Rom. x 4–11.** In his comm. on these verses O-R says—VIII 2 pp. 197 f—that 'God's righteousness' (v. 3) is the same as 'the righteousness which is of faith' (v. 6), while 'their own righteous-

ness' (v. 3) is identical with 'the righteousness which is of the law' (v. 5). This is implied in P's comm. on v. 3—720. 3 ff—*Ignorantes quod deus ex sola fide iustificat, et iustos se ex legis operibus . . . esse putantes . . .* Continuing his exposition O-R states—p. 198—that the righteousness which is of faith *non tantum vitam praebet, sed aeternam vitam*. This implies the converse statement, attributed by P in his comm. on v. 5 to *Quidam*—720. 34 ff—*Quidam ex hoc loco putant Iudaeos praesentem tantum vitam ex legis operibus meruisse . . .*; so that O-R is probably one of the *Quidam*.

O-R proceeds—p. 195—*Illam vero legis iustitiam 'qui fecerit homo', non (dixit) in aeternum vivet, sed tantummodo 'vivet in ea', quoniam si 'finis legis . . . Christus' est, nec ipsam, quae ex lege est, iustitiam sine Christo adimplere poterit, qui finem legis non suscipit Christum*. This is exactly the position of P. One cannot enter into life by keeping the commandments (Matt. xix 17, quoted by P at 720. 38 f), unless one professes faith in Christ, who is 'the end of the law'. His comm. on v. 5 brings this out—P 720. 31 ff—*Nemo ergo illorum vivet, quia in hoc tempore nemo perficit legem sine Christo, quia et hoc legis est, ut ipsi credatur*.

In the rest of his notes¹ P does not concern himself with the questions raised and discussed by O-R pp. 200–204.

69. Rom. x 12, 13. There is nothing in common between the comments of P and O-R on these verses except the use of the verb *largiri* with reference to 'Dominus . . . dives' in v. 12. P says—721. 21 f—*Unus dominus . . . salutem habet unde omnibus largiatur*. So O-R writes—VIII 3 p. 205—*Quas . . . divitias . . . dixit (sc. Paulus) largiri eum . . . omnibus, quicumque invocaverint nomen eius*.

P appears to have made no use of O-R VIII 4 in writing his comm. on Rom. x 14, 15. Note, however, that on v. 15 O-R says—p. 213—*Isti sunt pedes, quibus et Paulus cucurrisse cursum se dixit, et sic currere, ut comprehendat*² . . . This recalls P's first comm. on Rom. ix 16, which, it will be remembered, he reads as a question. It is—P 716. 51 ff—*Si non est volentis neque currentis, . . . quare et ipse cucurrit dicens: 'Cursum consummavi' (2 Tim. iv 7), et alios ut currerent adhortatus est dicens: 'Sic currite ut omnes comprehendatis'?* The passage from 2 Tim. iv 7, it may be added, occurs in three places in O-R, viz. V 8 p. 389, VII 4 p. 101 on Rom. viii 18–22, X 15 p. 427.

As was indicated in Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 127, 128, P's comm. on Rom. x 16–21 owe little or nothing to O-R VIII 5.

70. Rom. xi 1–6. P's concise notes on these verses shew very little trace of indebtedness to O-R VIII 6. On v. 1 both comm. say that the Jews are not rejected if they believe: cf. O-R pp. 227 f

¹ Vid. Ambstr.-Pelag. note 127.

² Cf. 1 Cor. ix 24.

Apostolus volens . . . ostendere, quia supersit salutis via populo Israel, si credant . . . , and, later, repulsi sunt, . . . quia increduli fuerint . . . ; P 722. 28 f *Non omnes, ait, reppulsi, nec semper, nisi eos qui non credunt.*

*71. **Rom. xi 7-10.** P asserts that the state of Israel as depicted in these verses is due wholly to their unbelief and not to any arbitrary action on the part of God. (Conversely, 'the election' of *v.* 7 are they *qui per fidem electi sunt*—P 723. 27 f.) Man's freedom of choice is in no wise interfered with.¹ On *v.* 8 P writes—723. 34 ff—*Scriptura dicit: 'Ante² hominem vita et mors; quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi, ne libertas scilicet tollatur arbitrii.* Then of the Jews he says *Nam si voluissent habere spiritum fidei, accepissent.*

So O-R VIII 7 p. 235 says that the blindness of Israel is to be regarded as *retributio . . . et merces incredulitatis.* This subject, he says (p. 236), he has fully discussed in *primis huius epistolae partibus*, and it is noteworthy that in his comm. on Rom. i 24, 25 there is a passage which is in close accord with the comm. of P above given, and also contains a quotation from Ecclus. xv 17, 18. The passage, of which a portion was given in note 7 *supra*, is as follows—O-R I 18 pp. 57 f—*servatur ei (sc. animae) in omnibus libertas sui arbitrii, ut in quodcumque voluerit ipsa declinet, sicut scriptum est: 'ecce posui ante faciem tuam vitam et mortem, ignem et aquam.'* . . . *Habet ergo in arbitrio suo anima, si velit, eligere vitam Christum, aut in mortem diabolum declinare.*

O-R takes 'usque in hodiernum diem' in *v.* 8 to mean *usque ad consummationem saeculi*—p. 235. P's view is quite different, as is shewn by his comm.—723. 50 ff—*Usque quo convertantur, sicut de velamine cordis ad Corinthios dicit.*³ To this, nevertheless, there is a parallel in O-R VII 7 p. 40 on Rom. vii 1-6, where, after referring to Paul's exhortation to 'serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter', he quotes, in substance, 2 Cor. iii 15, 16, 17 . . . 'cum autem conversus fuerit quis ad Dominum, auferetur velamen . . .'

72. **Rom. xi 11, 12.** P's comm. on these verses appear to owe little to O-R VIII 8. Note, however, that the passage in O-R p. 244 *ne rursum Gentibus insultandi causas et elationis materiam praeretur* etc. recalls P 722. 41 ff on Rom. xi 2—*Gentibus superbiam tollit, ne gloriantur*⁴ . . .

73. **Rom. xi 13, 14, 15.** P is apparently little indebted to O-R VIII 9. On *v.* 14 the two comm. touch one another. O-R says—p. 256—*Sic ergo . . . Israelitas . . . ad IMITANDOS eos, qui proficiunt in*

¹ The interpolator—P 723. 43-49—is likewise a strenuous defender of the freedom of the will.

² Cf. Ecclus. xv 18.

³ Cf. 2 Cor. iii 15.

⁴ Cf. P 725. 46, 726. 24 f.

fide Dei, invitat (sc. Paulus) et provocat. Compare P 724. 47 f *Ut omni modo talem me exhibeam, ut me desiderent IMITARI.*

74. Rom. xi 16-24. O-R begins his comm. on these verses with a long dissertation on our *arbitrii libertas*, in virtue of which *unusquisque . . . aut bona oliva aut oleaster efficitur, aut Israelitici generis aut alterius culpabilis gentis*—VIII 10 p. 261. Although it is probable that P would have agreed with most of this discussion, there is none of it in his own notes, which have already been shewn (Ambstr.-Pelag. note 136) to follow in the main those of Ambrosiaster. Two points of contact may, however, be noted between P and O-R. On 'pinguedinis olivae' (v. 17) P writes—725. 25—*pinguedinis Christi*. Compare O-R p. 263 *pinguedinis Christi*. On v. 21 P says—725. 50—*quanto minus tibi (sc. non parcat), si peccaveris!* The warning against sin and its consequences is also given by O-R, who says—p. 264—*metuendum tibi est, ne forte et tu . . . severitatem Dei . . . incurras ipse peccando*. So, on vv. 22, 23 P writes—726. 2 f—*Sin vero uterque se mutet, et tu severitatem senties, et illi bonitatem*.

The interpolation on v. 16 *rami apostoli*—P 725. 9—accords with O-R p. 263 *ramis eius, Apostolis scilicet et prophetis Dei*. O-R also takes *radix et primitiae* (v. 16) to mean Christ—p. 262. So the interpolator—P 725. 5—*Hic primitias Christum dicit*.

75. Rom. xi 25, 26, 27. There is only one point of contact worth mentioning between the comm. of P and O-R on these verses. On 'ut non sitis vobis ipsis sapientes' (v. 25) P writes—726. 30 ff—*Ne secundum humanam sapientiam dicatis: 'Nos deus elegit, et illos abiecit.'* With this reference to *humana sapientia* compare O-R VIII 11 p. 266, where he says *insultare lapsis et gloriari . . . non fit per Dei sapientiam, sed per humanam . . . Qui enim secundum Deum sapit, . . . non insultat . . .*

***76. Rom. xi 28-36.** P's notes on these verses were shewn (Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 138-142) to contain several passages which appear to owe something to Ambrosiaster. They also bear traces of indebtedness to O-R.

P's comm. on the first part of v. 28 is—727. 12 ff—*Inimici mihi sunt, quia vobis praedico Christum, sicut ipse alibi ait: 'prohibentes nos gentibus loqui ut salvae fiant' (1 Thess. ii 16).* O-R, more correctly perhaps, understands 'inimici' in the sense of *inimici Deo*, but he continues—VIII 12 p. 273—*Sed quod dicit: 'propter vos': hoc est, quorum saluti scilicet invident, prohibentes Apostolos Gentibus loqui, et persequentes eos, qui annuntiant Christum*. This has no doubt suggested the comm. of P, apart from *inimici mihi*.

In Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 138, 140, two possible sources were suggested of P's comm. on the second half of v. 28—P 727. 16 f—*Si autem credant, carissimi sunt, dupliciter commendati*. Compare also O-R p. 273

Carissimi sunt propter patres, quorum scilicet fidem sequentes, credunt 'in eum, qui suscitavit Christum Iesum a mortuis'.

P's first alternative comm. on v. 29 is—727. 19 ff—*Si crediderint, non illis poterunt imputari peccata, quia dominum non pacnitet Abrahae semini promisisse.* This is much in the spirit of what O-R says—p. 273—*Semel autem donata electione semini patrum, . . . servat sine dubio Deus dona et vocationem suam erga semen eorum . . . , nec poenitudo incurrit in Deum, etiam si minus digni videantur exsistere . . .*

There is a good deal in common between P 728. 3-16 and O-R VIII 12 p. 279 on v. 36. O-R, like Ambstr. 163. 23-36, has something to say about the mystery of the Trinity. P mentions only the Father and the Son.

Note that P has already, on v. 25, spoken of the blindness of Israel proving the salvation of the Jews. In his comm. he says—726. 27 ff—*occasionem eis salutis etiam caecitas praestitit Istrahel.* Compare O-R VIII 12 p. 274 *ocasio . . . conferendae in vos misericordiae populi Israel incredulitas exstitit.*

77. Rom. xii 1, 2. P's notes on these verses are not, on the whole, much indebted to O-R IX 1.¹ On 'ut exhibeatis corpora vestra' (v. 1) he says—P 728. 25 ff—*Non animalium, sicut in lege, quae tamen, licet in figura fierent, immacolata offerebantur et viva.* This comm. has probably been suggested by O-R, who in his paraphrase of Paul's injunction writes—p. 282—*corpora magis vestra quam pecudum fiant sacrificium Deo . . .*, and on the next page refers at length to the various animalia prescribed in Leviticus. O-R also points out that the sacrifice must be without blemish—p. 286—*in lege hostia cum offerretur, inspiciebatur a sacerdote . . .*

P's alternative comm. on 'deo placentem'—728. 31—*Sive: Talis ei placet hostia*—is in accord with O-R, who says—p. 284—'Placentem Deo', *utpote a peccatis et vitiis separatam*, and continues *dignum est Deo tales hostias immolari.*

P's comm. on 'rationabile obsequium vestrum' commences—728. 32 f—*Omne opus bonum tunc placet deo, si rationabiliter fiat.* His definition of 'obsequium' is wider than that of O-R, who takes it—p. 282—to mean *cultus Dei*, but his idea with regard to 'rationabile' has several parallels in O-R IX 1, e. g. on p. 286, where he says *hostia vivens . . . quae rationabiliter offerenda est.*

78. Rom. xii 3-5. P's comm. on these verses again shew a few traces of the influence of O-R. On v. 3 P begins his note—728. 50—*Prohibiturus humanam sapientiam . . .* Compare the reference in O-R IX 2 p. 292 to the difference between *gratia loquentis* and *humana sapientia.*

¹ This comm. has been interpolated by Rufinus: *vid.* pp. 286, 290.

On 'omnibus, qui sunt inter vos' (v. 3) P writes—728. 53 f—*Qui sunt sacerdotes sive doctores . . .* There is also an allusion in O-R p. 292 to *ecclesiam docentes*.

P's comm. on 'non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem' (v. 3) is interesting. He says—728. 57 ff—*Plus vult sapere qui illa scrutatur, quae lex non dicit*: and he goes on to quote Eccclus. iii 21, with a portion of v. 22, introducing the quotation with the words *unde et Solomon ait*. O-R has a long discussion of this passage, in the course of which he quotes from Eccles. vii 16, with almost the same introductory words as P uses, *Unde et Salomon dicit*—p. 294. What P means by *illa, quae lex non dicit* may perhaps be understood from a passage in O-R p. 297. He says that if a man *velit sapere de sapientia Dei, de verbo doctrinae, de profundioris scientiae ratione, . . . iste . . . PLUS VULT SAPERE quam oportet*. Note that the words in capitals are the opening words of P's comment.

On 'et uni cuique, sicut deus divisit' (v. 3) P writes—729. 3 ff—*Notandum quod deum dicat spiritum sanctum, quem ad Corinthios adserit dona dividere singulis prout vult*. What God has apportioned to every man is, of course, 'the measure of faith'. In his next comment—IX 3 on Rom. xii 6, 7, 8—O-R discusses at length the meaning of 'secundum rationem fidei' (v. 6), which he says—p. 301—is not a very good translation of the Greek,¹ and should be rather 'secundum mensuram fidei'. He continues by quoting 1 Cor. xii 11, and in the discussion which follows and which contains two more references to 'the Spirit dividing as he will', he appears to identify God and the Holy Spirit, which is just the point of P's comment.

On 'mensuram fidei'—Rom. xii 3—P says—729. 7 ff—*Mensura fidei virtutum intellegenda est gratia, quam non nisi fideles accipiunt*. This has some points in common with the comm. of O-R IX 2 p. 296, where he writes *hoc est, ut sciat unusquisque et intelligat, quae in eo sit mensura gratiae Dei, quam consequi meruit per fidem*.

*79. Rom. xii 6, 7, 8. P does not follow O-R in his discussion of the *tres capiendae gratiae modos*—IX 3 pp. 301 f—or the distinction he draws between the faith *quae a nobis requiratur* and that *quae a Deo per gratiam datur*—pp. 303 f—but, as was indicated in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 145, his comments nevertheless shew obvious traces of the influence of O-R.

On the first part of v. 6 P writes—729. 27 ff—*omnibus quidem credentibus gloria promittitur in futuro, sed quia ita mundum cor habuerit, ut hoc mereatur, gratiam virtutum accipit etiam in praesenti, quam deus ei donare voluerit*. This idea is presented in an inverted form by

¹ Obviously an interpolation of Rufinus, whose hand is seen also in O-R IX 2 pp. 291, 296.

O-R IX 3 p. 303, where he says *Si enim in praesenti saeculo dat Deus unicuique gratiam 'secundum mensuram fidei', sine dubio et in futuro dabit unicuique gratiam pro mensura meritorum*. Note the reference both comm. make to 'merits', and compare P 729. 33 f.

P's comm. on 'qui praest, in sollicitudine'—v. 8—is *Qui praest ecclesiae vel fratribus, debet esse sollicitus*—729. 48 f. This is almost certainly taken from O-R IX 3 p. 309 *Qui vero praest fratribus, vel qui praest ecclesiae, in sollicitudine esse debet* . . .

On 'qui miseretur, in hilaritate'—v. 8—both comm. suggest alternative, though not similar, explanations. Each, however, in his second exposition, emphasizes the avoidance of *tristitia*: cf. O-R p. 310 *non vult in tali opere esse tristitiam*, and P 729. 53 f, where he writes 'Hilarem' enim datorem diligit deus', *et tristem sine dubio odit*.

*80. Rom. xli 9-21. On these verses O-R writes what are for him very brief comments (IX 4-24). These have been shewn¹ to touch Ambrosiaster and Pelagius at several points, and the resemblances already noted need not be pointed out again. One or two further points of contact between P and O-R may, however, be stated.

On v. 9 O-R concludes his comment—IX 4 p. 311—by quoting Paul's words from 1 Tim. i 5 'caritas de corde puro, . . . et fide non ficta'. This may possibly have shaped the beginning of P's note—729. 58 ff—*Tota puritas debet esse in Christiano, sicut deus PURA lux est: Fingere enim servorum est*.

On 'Spiritu ferventes'—v. 11—both writers (O-R IX 9 pp. 313 f and P 730. 14 ff) warn us not to be *tepidi*—*vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 147. On 'Domino servientes' in the same verse P's comment—730. 17 f—is a warning against serving vice: compare O-R IX 10 p. 314 *ad init.* The rest of this note is interpolated by Rufinus.

P's comm. on 'Spe gaudentes' in v. 12 appears to owe something to O-R. It is—P 730. 19 f—*Spe, non re praesenti*: 'spes' enim quae videtur non est spes.' O-R commences—IX 11 p. 314—*Spe gaudet, qui non respicit ea quae videntur, sed ea quae non videntur exspectat, et qui scit, quia* 'non sunt condignae passionis huius temporis ad futuram gloriam' . . . (Rom. viii 18). Both comm. make use of Rom. viii, and both make similar references to *spes*.

On 'in tribulatione patientes' O-R quotes Rom. v 3, 4—'tribulationem worketh . . . hope'. Compare P 730. 21 f *Propter gaudium spei futurae* . . .

On v. 14 P writes—730. 40 ff—*Ne utrumque nos facere debere putaremus: ait enim et beatus Petrus*: 'Neque maledictum pro maledicto, sed e contrario benedicentes.' This is exactly in the spirit of O-R, who

¹ This quotation from 2 Cor. ix 7 occurs in O-R X 14 p. 424 on Rom. xv 25-29, after a reference to 'giving with simplicity'.

² Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 148-152.

³ Cf. Rom. viii 24.

says—IX 14 p. 316—*Apostolus . . . monet, ne pro maledictis maledicta reddamus . . .*

On 'Id ipsum invicem sentientes'—*v.* 16—P says—731. 5 f—*Ut ita alteri sentias, sicut tibi.* O-R renders the exhortation—IX 16 p. 318—*ut ita de fratre sentiamus, ut de nobis ipsis.* (It is rather interesting to find O-R saying of this passage, *interpretatione obscurior factus est.* This admission does not seem to occur elsewhere in the Commentary.)

On 'Nulli malum pro malo reddentes' in *v.* 17 P, after a reference to 'turning the other cheek', continues—731. 19 ff—*Quod si tantae patientiae . . . fueris, non solum apud dominum, sed et apud omnes homines poteris probabilis apparere.* This use of *probabilis* is paralleled in O-R IX 22 p. 322 on *v.* 19 . . . *patientia probabilis fit apud Deum.*

On Rom. xii 11, as was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 147, Ambstr. objects to the reading of the Greek MSS 'Deo servientes', for which he prefers 'Tempori servientes'—167. 6 ff. The meaning of this expression he explains by quoting Eph. v. 16 'redimentes tempus, quoniam dies mali sunt'. In the corresponding comm. of O-R (IX 10 p. 314) Rufinus, obviously interpolating, says that he is aware of the reading in several Latin texts 'tempori servientes', which, however, he does not regard as *convenienter insertum*, unless it be understood in the sense of Paul's words in 1 Cor. vii 29, or Eph. v 16 'redimentes tempus' etc. As this is precisely the sense in which Ambstr. understands the phrase, it is highly probable that Rufinus, apart from the reference to 1 Cor. vii 29, has here interpolated Origen from Ambrosiaster. This would seem to confirm the suggestion, made at the end of Ambstr.-Pelag. note 108, that Rufinus in certain places has been influenced by Ambrosiaster.

*81. Rom. xiii 1. Pelagius is not quite certain whether 'the powers that be' are the temporal powers or *ecclesiasticae dignitates*—732. 17.¹ If the temporal powers are meant, then, he says, they are not all just merely because they have been appointed by God—732. 22 ff. *Secundum desiderium enim unius cuiusque dantur.* Their purpose is to judge rightly and to see to it *ut peccatores habeant quod timere, ne peccent.* This may very well be an amplification of O-R, who, using the analogy of the senses, which have all indeed been given us by God but can be used by us for good or evil purposes, declares—IX 26 p. 328—*potestas omnis a Deo data est* 'ad vindictam quidem malorum, laudem vero bonorum' (1 Pet. ii 14). This passage from O-R has very probably suggested P's comm. on 'Bonum fac, et habebis laudem ex illa'—*v.* 3—*Ipsa damnatio malorum laus est bonorum*—P. 732. 43 f. Apart from this there is nothing in P's comm. on *vv.* 2-4 which appears to be indebted to the corresponding comm. of O-R, IX 27 on *v.* 2 and IX 28 on *vv.* 3, 4.

¹ Cf. P 732. 53 ff, 733. 5 ff, 13 ff.

82. Rom. xiii 5-14. P's comm. on these verses are comparatively speaking fuller than those of O-R, to which on the whole they seem little indebted.

On *vv.* 5, 6 O-R says—IX 29 p. 331—*Si . . . ponamus . . . credentes Christo . . . tributa non reddere, . . . nulli honorem deferre . . .* This recalls P 732. 11 ff on Rom xiii 1 (quoted in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 153), where he refers to those *qui se pulabant ita debere libertate Christiana uti, ut nulli aut honorem deferrent aut tributa dependerent.*

As was pointed out in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 156, P gives a different and more natural explanation of our 'neighbour' than does O-R IX 31 (on *vv.* 8-10). Note, however, that the reference in O-R pp. 336 f to Christ's parable of the good Samaritan is twice paralleled in P—733. 47 ff on *v.* 10, 733. 24 ff on *v.* 7.

On *v.* 10 P, after writing—734. 2 f—*Etiam bonum non facere malum est*, states that if a man withholds food or succour from one about to perish, he is guilty of his death. He twice uses the word *occidit*—P 734. 4, 8. Compare O-R IX 31 p. 336 *Numquid qui diligit proximum, occidere eum potest?* This may be the germ of P's comment.

It was shewn in Ambstr.-Pelag. note 157 that there exists a strong general resemblance between the comm. of P, O-R, and Ambstr. on *vv.* 11-13, and it is not necessary to add much to what has already been said.

On the last clause of *v.* 12 O-R writes—IX 32 p. 339—'arma' vero 'lucis' assumptio virtutum. So, on *v.* 14 he says—IX 34 p. 341—that this verse tells us what was meant in *v.* 12 by 'putting on the armour of light', and he continues *Frequenter diximus Christum . . . esse . . . omnes simul virtutes; quas utique qui assumerit, Christum dicitur induisse.* With this compare P 734. 55 f—on *v.* 14—(*Christus*) *in quo omnes sunt virtutes.*

On 'Sicut in die honeste ambulemus'—*v.* 13—both comm. refer to *scientia*, which saves us from the perils of our ignorance.

83. Rom. xiv 1-23. Though P was doubtless acquainted with the commentary of O-R (IX 35—X 5) on this chapter, he seems to have made very little use of it. Such resemblances as exist are perhaps inevitable in a chapter of this sort (*vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 166), and most of them have already been pointed out.¹ The exposition of O-R, which in several places has been interpolated by Rufinus, is often highly allegorical and discursive, and is not such as to commend itself to a writer like Pelagius. The following points of contact, not previously mentioned, may just be indicated.

In the last sentence of *v.* 10 P, like O-R IX 41 p. 354, reads 'ante tribunal dei'—736. 52. Ambstr. reads—177. 11 f—'ante tribunal

¹ *Vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. notes 159-163, 166, 167.

Christi'. All three commentators, however, appear to regard 'tribunal dei' and 'tribunal Christi' as synonymous. P's comm. on this passage is—736. 53 f—*Tunc conscientias nostras dominus iudicabit . . .* There is a similar reference in O-R IX 41 p. 356 *ita intelligamus et iudicem omnium Christum . . . introspicere . . . conscientias singulorum . . .*

Both O-R and P give similar definitions of the word 'commune' in v. 14. P writes—737. 15 f—*Commune . . . dicitur quicquid quasi in-mundum videtur in esca Iudaeorum.* Compare O-R IX 42 p. 363 *Diximus . . . quod in Scripturis sanctis . . . , quod sanctum vel mundum non est, commune nominetur.*

P's comm. on v. 16—737. 32 ff—contains a reminiscence—*ut omnia nobis munda sint*—of Tit. i 15. The quotation—'omnia munda mundis'—is found in O-R IX 42 p. 369.

On v. 17 the interpolator writes—P 737. 39 ff—*hic manifeste monstratur, quoniam regnum coelorum cibum et potum non habet temporalem . . .* So, O-R says—X i pp. 373 f—that Paul here *regni caelorum mysterium prodit*, making it plain in *regno Dei neque escas corporales neque potum habere locum . . .*

On 'Omnia quidem munda sunt' in v. 20 P remarks—737. 58 f—that Paul *repetit quod superius dixerat*. This is also stated by O-R X 3 p. 378 *Quod dixit: 'omnia quidem munda, sed . . . manducat': simile est illi, quod superius dixit: 'quia nihil commune . . . est' (v. 14).*

P's comm. on the second part of v. 21 is—P 738. 2 f—*Ipsium mundum illis fit malum, si per illud alter offendant.* O-R makes a similar remark—X 3 p. 378—*Quod . . . sui natura bonum est, ex offensione efficitur malum . . .*

****84. Rom. xv 1-3.** There are several striking resemblances between P's comm. on these verses and those of O-R.

On 'Debemus autem nos firmiores inbecillitates infirmorum sustinere' (v. 1) P writes—738. 36 ff—*Si vere firmi estis, sic facite ut ego, qui 'factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucriferem' (1 Cor. ix 22).* The comm. of O-R commences—X 6 p. 387—*Videtur in his Paulus firmum semet ipsum pronuntiare, sicut et in prima ad Corinthios dicit, quia 'factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucriferem'.*

P's comm. on 'et non nobis placere. Unus quisque vestrum proximo suo placeat' (vv. 1, 2) is doubtless also suggested by O-R. The following passages will make this evident:

P 738. 40 ff.

Non a nobis ipsis, sed a proximis
conlaudamur,

O-R X 6.

Sed non ex hoc¹ accipias eum
quasi immemorem mandati illius
loci, quo dicitur: '*laudet² te proxi-
mus tuus, et non tuum os; extraneus,
et non tua labia*' (p. 387).

¹ The passage given above.

² Prov. xxvii 2.

sicut et alibi suum nobis proponit exemplum, dicens: '*Sicut et ego omnibus per omnia placeo, non quaerens quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant*' (1 Cor. x 33).

Et utique huic sententiae¹ videtur esse contrarium, ut '*unusquisque*' nostrum '*proximo placeat*', et quod in aliis dicit: '*sicut et ego omnibus per omnia placeo, non quaerens quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant*' (p. 390).

P does not trouble, like O-R, to defend Paul from the charge of self-praise or inconsistency, but he also recognizes that it is not always right to seek to please men. On 'ad bonam aedificationem' (v. 2) his comm. is—P 738. 49 ff—*Ostendit modum placendi et causam, ne ad vanam gloriam placeamus*. Compare O-R p. 391 *Non enim gloriam ab hominibus quaerendam monet* . . . P's whole note, and that immediately preceding (738. 44-48), are in fact in close accord with O-R X 6 pp. 390, 391.

P's comm. on 'Et enim Christus non sibi placuit' (v. 3)—738. 54 ff—has this in common with O-R p. 392, that Christ's purpose is stated to have been to save men. P's exposition of Paul's use in v. 3 of the quotation from Ps. lxxix 9 is similar in spirit to that of O-R pp. 392 f, although the comm. give different examples of the taunts hurled by the Jews at Jesus.

P does not seem indebted to O-R's exposition of v. 4.

***85. Rom. xv 5, 6, 7.** P's notes on these verses are fuller and more suggestive than those of O-R. He seems, however, to have followed O-R in the emphasis he lays on the virtue of *unanimitas* (v. 6). Compare P 739. 34-37 and O-R X 7 p. 396, both comm. containing the quotation from Matt. xviii 19, which is thus given by P: '*Si . . . duobus convenerit super terram, ex omni re, quacumque petierint, fiet iis.*'

P's comm. on 'Propter quod suscipite invicem' (v. 7) thus commences—739. 39 ff—*Propter honorem dei* 'invicem onera vestra portate et sic adimplebitis legem Christi' . . . (Gal. vi 2). The first clause of this verse was quoted by O-R X 6 p. 387, and its occurrence in a comment obviously known to Pelagius may easily have suggested the use of the verse here.

P's comm. on vv. 8-12 appear to owe nothing to O-R X 8: *vid.* Ambstr.-Pelag. note 169. His note on v. 13 is likewise independent of O-R X 9.

86. Rom. xv 14-33. P's comm. on these verses shew few traces of

¹ The reference is to Gal. i 10 'Ego si hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem'.

dependence on O-R, and such resemblances as exist may therefore be stated in a single note.

On 'ita ut possitis alterutrum monere' (v. 14) P writes—740. 41 f—*Ostendit Christianos semper se alterutrum monere debere*. This obligation is pointed out in similar terms in the corresponding comm. of O-R, where he says—X 10 p. 407—*In quo ostendit, quia in eo, quod didicit unusquisque, debet etiam alium monere . . .*

The efficacy of example, as emphasized by Pelagius—741. 4 ff, 12 ff on v. 16—is fully recognized by O-R in his comm. on this verse—X 11 p. 410.

On vv. 17–22 P's comments, apart from some general resemblances in tone, shew only one definite point of contact with O-R X 12. This is on v. 17, where P commences—741. 18—with a quotation from 1 Cor. i 31 'Qui gloriatur, in domino gloriatur'. This has doubtless been suggested by O-R X 12 p. 411 *Simile est hoc illi, quod in aliis ipse dicit: 'qui autem gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur.'*

P's comm. on 'Nunc vero ulterius locum non habens in his regionibus' (v. 23) is—741. 55 ff—*Ubi iam omnes firmi sunt, causam se negat habere ponendi fundamentum*. This is similar in spirit to the explanation of O-R X 13 p. 415 *dicit . . . locum nullum sibi superesse Christi praedicationis vacuum . . .*

In an alternative comm. on v. 24 P says—742. 15 f—*Sive: Ideo ex parte, quia nulla magnitudo temporis satiat caritatem*. This accords with O-R X 13 p. 416, where he writes *Quam tamen caritatem tantam praesentit futuram, cui nec possit ex integro satisfieri, sed 'ex parte', inquit.*

O-R has a twofold exposition of vv. 25–29 (X 14 pp. 417–424). The first part he calls—p. 420—*secundum communem litterae . . . intellectum*, and at the beginning of it he quotes (pp. 417 f) from 2 Cor. viii 1–4, 7, 10. After quoting 2 Cor. viii 10 O-R continues—p. 418—*Sed et in reliquis de hac eadem sanctorum communione prosequitur*, and proceeds to quote 2 Cor. ix 1. This is doubtless the source of the reminiscence of 2 Cor. viii 14 in P's comm. on the second part of v. 27, where he writes—P 742. 44 ff—*ideoque unus quisque in quo abundat, debet alteri impertire*. P also says—742. 38 ff—that Paul is here urging the Romans to follow the example of liberality set by the Corinthians.¹ This idea is also expressed by O-R X 14 pp. 417–419.

On p. 419 he says *subtiliter et verecunde, dum Corinthios laudat, hortatur Romanos*. (Note the chiasmic order of the last four words O-R, like Pelagius, is fond of chiasmus.)

O-R's alternative explanation, that Paul means the poor in spirit, is certainly not adopted by P.

¹ *Vid. Ambstr.-Pelag. note 173.*

There is a considerable divergence between P and O-R in their comm. on *vv.* 30-33.

87. Rom. xvi 1-27. P's notes on *vv.* 1-15 appear to contain nothing derivable from O-R X 17-32.

P's comm. on *v.* 16 is—744. 40 ff—*Non ficto vel subdolo osculo, quali Iudas tradidit Salvatore. Ideo enim in Ecclesia pax primum adnuntiatur . . .* This may have its source in O-R X 33 pp. 438 f, where there are also references to *pax* and to the kiss of Judas.

On *v.* 19 P remarks on the ready obedience of the Romans and the danger it involves. His comm. is—P 745. 1 ff—*Nam et illi propter ea ad vos venerunt, quia sciebant vos per oboedientiam simplicem cito posse seduci.* This is exactly in the spirit of O-R X 35, where the following occurs—p. 441—*Subtiliter sane Paulus indiscretam et facilem Romanorum oboedientiam notat . . .* Their obedience is again called *facilis et indiscreta* at the end of the comm. on p. 442.

O-R concludes his exposition of the first sentence of *v.* 20 as follows—X 37 p. 447—*Hoc est nimirum quod Dominus in Evangelio dicit: 'ecce' dedi vobis potestatem calcandi super serpentes et scorpiones, et super omnem virtutem inimici.* This has doubtless suggested P's comm. on the same passage—745. 15 ff—*Ita enim dedit nobis dominus potestatem calcandi super scorpiones atque serpentes et omnem virtutem inimici.*

In writing his note on 'Erastus' ('Aristus'?)² mentioned in *v.* 23 P—745. 22 ff—seems to have accepted the invitation of O-R, as contained in the last sentence of his comment—X 42 p. 452.

The comments of Pelagius on this chapter shew very few traces of indebtedness to Origen-Rufinus:

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¹ Luc. x 19.

² P says that he was *ex*-treasurer of Corinth.

THREE NOTES ON PSALM XLVI.

(1)

He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth (v. 10 a [9 a E.V.]).

ALL modern commentators (so far as I am aware) agree with our English translators in finding in this Psalm a notable utterance on world-peace. JEHOVAH is about to put an end to war and to destroy all weapons of war. We must concede that this is a possible explanation of the words of the verse.

But the text thus explained does not agree well with the context. In v. 9 [8 E.V.] the Psalmist invites men to consider the 'desolations' or 'destructions' (שְׁמוֹת) which JEHOVAH has wrought in the earth. For 'desolations' we might substitute the rendering 'astonishing things', but it is still necessary to remember that the Hebrew root connotes desolation, desolation of the spirit, if not desolation of the outward face of the world. It is sufficient here to refer to Jer. v 39, 'Astonishment (שִׁמָּה) and horror is come to pass in the land' (R.V. marg.). Does the Psalmist indeed class the bringing-in of world-peace among 'the astonishing things, the deeds of desolation' which he invites his people to contemplate? It is difficult to think so. Again the Psalm ends with the refrain 'JEHOVAH-Sēbaoth is with us, the God of Jacob is our high tower'. This surely is a war-cry (cf. Isa. viii 8, 10), but should a war-cry follow so closely upon the announcement of universal peace? Vv. 9, 12 [8, 11 E.V.] announce rather victory over Israel's foes than the end of all war.

I suggest that v. 10 [9 E.V.] is simply the description of a complete victory by which Israel is delivered from present danger. The exegesis of the verse must be set forth in detail. (a) מִלְחָמוֹת 'wars, battles' is to be taken in a concrete sense. Like the English word 'battle' it bears the sense of 'forces drawn up for battle'; it could be used to translate Shakspeare's

'Their battles are at hand'.

(*Julius Caesar* v i.)

Cp. Ps. lxxvi 4 [3 E.V.] 'There brake he the arrows of the bow; the shield, and the sword, and the battle'. So 1 Kings xxii 35 'And the battle (the Israelite army) went up' (וַחֲעֵלָה הַמִּלְחָמָה), i.e. it retired,

retreated) 'that day, but the king was stayed up in the chariot against the Syrians', i.e. Ahab was held up at his post in order to stay the flight of his army. So again Joel iv 9 [iii 9 E.V.], 'Prepare ('Sanctify' R.V. marg.) war' should rather be 'Sanctify the battle array' (קדשן מלחמה). It was the men of war themselves, the warriors in their array, who were 'sanctified' in preparation for an expedition.

The verb השבית which is used with מלחמות agrees well with the substantive thus interpreted. The ranks are not merely to be broken, for broken ranks may be restored by able commanders. The ranks are 'made to cease', they are dissolved, so that the warriors never appear again as 'formed bodies', to use a military phrase. The 'ordered line' which often struck terror with its close array of spears will be ex-terminated in the literal sense, it will be made to cease unto the end (*terminus*) of the land (perhaps 'the earth'). This is truly a deed of 'desolation' or 'astonishment' for the onlooker, be he friend or foe.

The other phrases lend themselves to similar explanation. The bows are broken in the course of the battle (cp. Ps. lxxvi 4 [3]; Hos. i 5), and not merely as a measure towards the inauguration of a Reign of Peace. Finally, the clause 'He burneth the chariots (עגלות) in the fire' is a vivid battle-touch, having nothing whatever to do with Peace-measures. The עגלות are (as B. Duhm reminds us) not 'chariots', but 'die Lastwagen der Bauern'. To burn them would surely be a strange way of preparing for universal Peace. Possibly the LXX yielded to this consideration when they adopted the precarious rendering θυρεούς 'large door-shaped shields'. (The word עגיל 'round shield' which occurs some four times in the Aramaic Targum seems to have no place in Hebrew.) The Greek rendering, however, need not detain us, for עגלה 'wagon' is a common Hebrew word and (pace F. Baethgen and others) well suited to the present context. V. 10 describes the progress of JEHOVAH's great battle against Israel's foes. It is (like many other passages of O.T.) couched in unflinchingly anthropomorphic language. First by His attack He breaks up the enemy phalanx; there is no rally, but only broken flight as far as the very *border of the land*. In the pursuit both bowmen and spearmen go down before Him with shattered weapons. Soon He arrives at the camp, the wagon-laager behind which the enemy makes his last stand. But the wagon-barrier soon goes up in flame, and the victory is completed. It is not War, but the organized war-might of 'Assyria' that JEHOVAH brings to an end.

A confirmation of this view comes from an unexpected source. In Western Asia the language of war was naturally that of the great military power Assyria. So we may believe that the phraseology of

v. 10 is ultimately borrowed from the annals of Assyrian kings. The first two clauses in any case find a striking parallel in the first 'despatch' of Esar-haddon in which he records his victory over the murderers of his father Sennacherib. He ascribes his success to his patron goddess:

'Ishtar (Ashtoreth) the lady of conflict and of battle (tahâzi) came to my side, and brake their bow (kashat-su-nu tashbir = קשת יזבר in the Psalm); their ordered battle (ta-ha-za-shu-nu ra-ak-su) she dissolved' (K.I.B. ii 142).

It need hardly be pointed out that there is no suggestion of disarmament or the bringing-in of universal peace in these words of Esar-haddon. Must we not say the same of the parallel language of the Psalm?

(2)

There is a river, the streams (נהר פלניו) whereof make glad the city of God (פ. 5 a [4 a E.V.]).

The vague rendering 'There is a river' is hardly defensible in the light of the use of נהר 'river' in O.T. That word, whether used with the article or not, is wisely rendered in different books in R.V. by 'the River', with capital R. Such is the case e.g. with Gen. xxi 21; 2 Sam. viii 3; Isa. vii 20 (anarthrous), viii 7; Ps. lxxii 8 (anar.), lxxx 12 [11 E.V.] (anar.). The River is the Euphrates (Gen. xv 18), a symbol of the power which held the Euphrates valley, just as 'Orontes' stands for the Syrian people in Juvenal's well-known saying,

'In Tiberim defluxit Orontes.'

'The Lord', Isaiah says, 'bringeth up upon them the waters of the River... even the king of Assyria' (Isa. viii 7). The reference in the word 'River' to the Assyrians is to be asserted for the Psalm also. Whether it was written in the age of Hezekiah or not, it is but natural that, when Jerusalem was seriously threatened by an enemy, the Psalmist should recall the striking deliverance of the city from Sennacherib.

Further, the formula 'There is' is to be rejected on the ground that the 'River' needs no introduction, for its activity has already been depicted in the preceding verse. Certainly the pronominal suffix in 'His waters' does not refer back to the 'seas' (pl.) of v. 4 [3].

קדש in the second half of the verse is probably to be read as a verb; (so LXX, ἡγιάσεν); 'he (i.e. the River) hath hallowed the dwellings of the most High.' The Assyrian invader has been compelled to respect the sanctity of the Holy City; cp. Ps. lxxvi 11 [10 E.V.] 'the wrath of man shall be compelled to praise thee'.

(3)

JEHOVAH-Sabaoth is with us ;

The God of Jacob is our high tower.

(xx. 8, 12 [7, 11 E.V.])

This third note is offered tentatively. Evidence on the point raised is meagre, but the subject is interesting and possibly fresh information may shortly be forthcoming.

The Divine title 'God of Jacob' stands as a parallel to the title 'JEHOVAH-Sabaoth'. Is it possible that the parallel is closer than that which the English rendering presents?

The name 'Jacob' seems to be interpreted in Gen. xxvii 36 [E.V.] as meaning 'The Supplanter'. The connotation of such a name in English ears is only bad. But it must not be forgotten that Esau speaks not as a philologist, but as an angry man playing with his brother's name. That name is probably *mediae significationis*. Its essential meaning seems to be one who gets the better of his opponent, 'Victor' or 'Conqueror'. The particular means employed by Jacob against his brother and against Laban were dishonourable, but the name **יַעֲקֹב** contains no reference to those means. Even if there be a connexion with **אָפֶקֶט** 'heel', yet 'to take by the heel' simply suggests the completeness of the victory, not the means by which it is obtained. Cf. Hos. xii 4 [3 E.V.],

'In the womb he conquered (**אָפֶקֶט**) his brother ;
And in his manhood he had power with God.'

It appears then that **יַעֲקֹב** means 'he conquers' or (as a proper name) 'Conqueror'. On this basis we gain a satisfactory meaning for the otherwise strange name 'Jacob-el' found in a list of Palestinian names on an inscription of Thothmes III of Egypt (Driver, 'Jacob', Hastings's *DB.* ii p. 526). **אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב** would mean 'El (God) is conqueror', and **יַעֲקֹב** 'Conqueror' might become a characteristic epithet of God.' The M.T. of Ps. xxiv 6 actually yields an instance of this :

'Such is the generation of them that seek him,
That seek thy face, O Conqueror' (**יַעֲקֹב**).

It is true that LXX has for the second member *ζητούντων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ*, but the reading is fatally easy, brought in probably from some parallel passage. The shorter form of the second member offered by M.T. keeps the general balance of the verse much better, and the epithet 'Conqueror' is peculiarly appropriate in the context.

¹ Cp. *al-Muqtadir* 'the Prevailer', the 69th of the ninety-nine Excellent Names of God in Islam.

On the other hand if M.T. of Ps. xxiv 6 be accepted, it does not follow that M.T. of Ps. xlv 8, 12 is to be corrected into agreement with it. We may render **אלהי יעקב** 'Conqueror God' or 'God the Conqueror' just as we render **מלאכי רעים** (Ps. lxxviii 49) by 'evil angels', or **פרא אדם** (Gen. xvi 12) by 'a human wild ass'. In each case the word in construction is qualified by the word with which it is in construction.

A translation of the Psalm is appended in illustration of these notes.

2, 3 [1, 2 E.V.] CONFIDENCE IN GOD BASED ON PAST EXPERIENCE.

God (JEHOVAH) is for us a refuge and strength;
He is found indeed a help in troubles.
Therefore will we not fear though the earth be changed,
And though mountains be moved into the heart of the seas.

4-7 [3-6 E.V.] THE ASSAULT OF THE ENEMY TURNED TO THE ADVANTAGE OF GOD'S CITY.

The Enemy is represented under the figure of the mighty River, the Euphrates (Isa. viii 7 f).

His waters roar and swell;
Mountains quake at his pride;
Yet shall the River with his streams make glad the city of God,
He hath hallowed the dwellings of the most High.
God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved;
God shall help her at the coming of the morning.
Nations have roared, kingdoms have been moved;
He hath uttered his voice; earth shall melt away.

8-12 [7-11 E.V.] JEHOVAH'S HELP.

JEHOVAH-Sabaoth is with us;
God the Conqueror is our high tower.
Come, behold the works of JEHOVAH,
Who hath dealt destruction in the land.
He dissolveth their ranks in all our land;
He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder;
He burneth the camp wagons in the fire.
Forbear and acknowledge that I am God;
I will be exalted among the nations, I will be exalted in the earth.
JEHOVAH-Sabaoth is with us;
God the Conqueror is our high tower.

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE WORD 'CURIALINI' FOUND IN PAULINUS OF NOLA

MR JAMES H. BAXTER of Glasgow University has called my attention to the difficult expression 'curialini' in the following passage of Paulinus of Nola, on whose works he is writing a monograph:

epist. 22. 2 nec curialyde curialini sed sagulis palliati.

The *Thesaurus* in conformity with earlier lexicæ regards this as a masculine substantive of the second declension, and conjectures that it is perhaps derived from *curis* = *colours*. On the contrary, I venture to think that it is merely a 'ghost-word', and that the editors and lexicographers have failed to divide it as it ought to be divided, into the two words 'curia lini', the whole expression 'curialyde curia lini' meaning simply 'a short linen cloak'.

A. SOUTER.

THE WORD 'ITORIA' IN OPTATUS.

IN the JOURNAL vol. xix (1917-1918) pp. 73-78, Dom. Wilmar has rightly restored this word to the text of Optatus. May I point out that his view had been already expressed by two of his *contemporaries*, all three being independent of one another?

Dom G. Morin in the *Revue Benedictine* vol. xii (1893) p. 355, where it is cited from Augustine and Commodian also.

Dom John Chapman in a foot-note to Mr Vassalli-Phillips's recently published translation of Optatus (Longmans, 1917) *ad loc.*

From the note of Dom Morin it appears that the original restorer of the word to Optatus and Commodian was the eminent linguist, Prof. Carl Weyman of Munich.

A. SOUTER.

REVIEWS

Jewish Theology systematically and historically considered. By
DR K. KOHLER. (New York, 1918.)

THE title of this book will remind some readers of the late Dr Schechter's work, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*. But the two books differ widely both in scope and in treatment. Dr Köhler includes the Theology of the Old Testament in his review, and has much that is interesting to say about the teaching of the Prophets. Further, the text of his book is more popular than Schechter's, though the mass of references in the notes to original authorities should be of great service to students.

The work is divided into an Introduction and Three Parts. The Introduction deals with the meaning of Theology and the nature of Judaism. Part I has three sub-divisions under the headings (a) *God as He makes Himself known to man*, (b) *The idea of God in Judaism*, (c) *God in relation to the world*. Dr Kohler writes with insight and with deep religious feeling. Many will sympathize with his exclamation in the chapter on the Existence of God, 'Measured by such Psalms as viii, xxiv, xxxiii, civ, and cxxxix, where God is felt as a living power, all philosophical arguments about His existence seem to be strange fires on the altar of religion'. Part II of Dr Kohler's book is headed *Man*, and Part III *Israel and the kingdom of God*. The chapters on 'Free Will' and on 'Repentance' may perhaps be singled out as giving the Jewish view of these two subjects in a very clear and interesting form. The subject of belief in a personal Messiah is somewhat curiously treated. The book concludes with a chapter on 'The Synagogue and its institutions', and another on the 'Ethics of Judaism'. Many will turn with interest (and will not be disappointed) to what Dr Kohler says on 'Christianity and Mohammedanism the Daughter-religions of Judaism' (ch. lvii).

The book is alive, for the author feels deeply and has high hopes for the future of religion. Sometimes smarting under some remark of Bousset or Weber he hurls tart words at Christianity, but he strives generally to be fair and makes a handsome acknowledgement of the practical power of our religion. 'It cannot be denied', he writes, 'that Paulinian Christianity, while growing into a world-conquering Church, achieved the dissemination of the Sinaitic doctrines as neither Judaism nor the Judaeo-Christian sect could ever have done' (p. 439).

I have noticed some slips which should be corrected in a second edition. On page 58 read *Eloah*, and (in the note) 'Robertson' Smith. On page 141, last line, read, 'Like' the artificer. On page 233, note, read 'De' confusiohe; on page 251, 'Ter. Sanh.' looks like a slip. 'Apocalyptic' (p. 254) should be 'Apocryphal'. On page 420 the well-known expression 'Disciples of the Wise' ('ח' ח' is rendered 'members of the Pharisean community'—surely too definite an interpretation. In the Index under 'Manasseh' 211 should be 254.

The book is a valuable one, a good example of a popular book written by a real scholar. It does not supersede such books as Dr Schechter's or Dr A. B. Davidson's, but it supplements them. Finally it may be said that it gives us a glimpse into the minds of learned and religious Jews of the twentieth century.

W. EMERY BARNES.

A Study in Christology: the problem of the relation of the two natures in the Person of Christ, by HERBERT M. RELTON, D.D. (S.P.S.K., London, 1917.)

IN an interesting Preface of some length Dr Headlam commends this thesis as marking 'a distinct step in advance in the methods of dealing with the problem', and refers to Dr Relton's industry and ability in his work on the difficult subject with which he deals. I gladly join in recognition of the learning and the energy which has gone to the making of this book. Any serious attempt to interpret our traditional Christology with direct reference to recent criticism of it is to be warmly welcomed. Such an attempt Dr Relton makes, and any one who believes that the *fact* *exists* in his hands give us an actual transcript of the consciousness of Jesus in this life in the world would be justified in claiming for him a large measure of success. I go at once to what seems to me to be the central question in all such investigations.

Dr Relton passes previous Christologies in review and seeks to vindicate the doctrine of the *enhypostasia*. That is to say he maintains orthodoxy; for no other doctrine is orthodox. Though he does not say so, this doctrine was first used by Leontius. This doctrine, as it is called by Dr Relton) describes it, seeks to secure the unity of the *Logos* by relegating to the divine *Logos* the formation and controlling agency. 'It is not a human individual that the *Logos* assumes for a moment or human nature in general. It is rather a *person* human nature

a nature not yet developed into a person or hypostasis. The hypostasis through which this takes place is the personal Logos through whose union with this potential man, in the womb of Mary, the potential man acquires a concrete reality, an individual existence. He has, therefore, no hypostasis of himself, but only in and through the Logos. It is denied that he is *non-hypostatic*; it is affirmed that he is *en-hypostatic*.'

It is obvious that a long course of speculation and controversy (of which Dr Relton gives a sufficient review) lies behind such a doctrine as this. It is, of course, based on the theory of the two substances and the two natures. This theory Dr Relton accepts, it seems; though he refers to the two natures rather than the two substances; and he aims at shewing that when we think in terms of 'personality' and 'consciousness' the doctrine that our Lord's personality was the personality of the Logos gives us just what we want. So far from detracting from His complete manhood, it is the only condition on which or in which manhood can be complete. In this argument he relies on 'the fact of an essential affinity between the human and the Divine': 'the human is never more truly and essentially human than when it is most Godlike'; 'man is most truly human when he most resembles God.' This 'fact' has been made the basis of a good deal of recent apologetic argument, and Christians, accustomed as they are to paradox, will not dispute it *in principio*, though they may ask some awkward questions. If to be truly human is to be truly Divine, does it follow that to be truly Divine is to be truly human? As long as we use the adjectival form of paradox we can avoid, perhaps, the issue: but is God only truly God when He is truly Man? I cannot think that this line of argument will really commend itself, and I doubt whether, as Dr Relton presents it, it gives us much help towards our solution of the problem of the personality of our Lord; especially when, in our thought on the subject, we substitute 'self-consciousness' or 'subject of experience' for 'personality'. I do not think the philosophers will be satisfied. The retention of the idea of two 'natures' seems to preclude progress in definition in modern terms. But what is still clearer to me is that the old theory which Dr Relton defends, and would restore to active life among us, depends on a judgement of the past as to the facts of our Lord's actual consciousness which is gravely shaken for most of those who feel the need of a new statement of the doctrine of His Person, and to all of them it will seem to be a deduction from doctrinal presuppositions rather than the last stage of a process of induction from facts.

Dr Relton professes to argue from 'the facts', but in his statement of them he goes far beyond what the evidence justifies, even if the Fourth Gospel be regarded as in the strictest sense historical. Thus he actually writes of the historical Jesus as having 'knowledge of

Himself as the Divine unlimited Logos', 'an unlimited knowledge of Himself as God transcendent', and as being 'conscious of Himself as God in His Trinitarian relationship'. Yet there is no kind of 'evidence' that the term 'Logos' was even known to Him, whether 'limited' or 'unlimited', or that He ever thought of Himself as 'God' in any sense. Such statements put their author out of court for students of history. We cannot get on with the urgent work of reconstruction of our doctrine on these lines. Dr Relton just reasserts the traditional position, as it seems to me, without the scaffolding and strength of an accepted philosophy and metaphysic which the doctrine of substance and nature and hypostasis furnished of old.

Nevertheless, for my own part, I welcome his book so far as it will call fresh attention among students of Doctrine to the theory of the *enhyposiasia* and to some modern conceptions of personality in connexion with it: because I believe that, with a thorough change of point of view, it is a term that may guide us to a restatement of the doctrine of Incarnation, when we jettison the categories of 'substance' and 'nature' and start on our way from the fact that our Lord was born 'a' man into the world, and as 'a' man—a real man—was the subject of the experience through which He passed. As 'a' man He grew and developed, as all men must, and what is *ex hypothesi* potential in all men—that is, the complete union of the human with the Divine—was actualized in Him. His 'personality' was the expression of the Divine personality in a man. Paul of Samosata may have been justly condemned for his doctrine, as well as his politics and morals, but at least he had behind him a genuine historical tradition to which in our reconstruction of Doctrine we must return.

An Introduction to Early Church History, being a survey of the relations of Christianity and Paganism in the early Roman Empire. By R. MARTIN POPE, M.A. (Macmillan & Co., 1918.)

A WARM welcome is due to this little book, which in some 150 pages aims at giving a survey of the movement which culminated in the acceptance of Christianity as an imperial religion, 'in its contact with the empire, its influence, its self-defence and the public verdict'.

It is freshly conceived and covers the ground that ought to be covered, by a rather novel plan, in a frankly impressionist manner. The writer is conscious of this impressionism, and knows that he sometimes expresses in a sentence 'an opinion which a monograph alone can justify'. I am not acquainted with any of the monographs he has

already written, and now and again opinions are expressed which I believe no monograph could justify: they seem to indicate a lack of the kind of study which produces monographs. Thus it is odd to speak of a reaction against Christianity during the second half of the third century (p. 39, note) as a cause of the spread of Mithraism, and of Gnosticism as already in St Paul's time 'a definite, recognised system of belief' which he had vigorously to combat (p. 39). Frequently the use of 'now', 'still', and 'as yet' is so undetermined as to be meaningless or misleading. It is definitely misleading to cite Tertullian (p. 76) as styling the bishop of Rome *episcopus episcoporum* without the fiercely ironical context (*de pud.* i), to say (p. 77) that 'the local church under a bishop now became part of a greater whole' (p. 77), to speak of monasticism as a 'significant reaction from sacerdotalism' (p. 78), or of Constantine as 'allowing' the cross 'to be affixed to the colours of the regiments during his expedition against Maxentius' (p. 128), or of Latin Christianity as deriving its strength from Hellenism (p. 130), or of Mithraism as observing 'Christmas Day' as the birthday of the Sun invincible (p. 134—Mithraism was first in the field in its festival of December 25). Clement of Alexandria was not the first to identify the Incarnate Logos with Jesus, and so alter for ever the significance of Christ's person in Christian thought, as is suggested on p. 94. And how does the *Hexapla* embody the principles of interpretation laid down in the *de principiis* (p. 95)? None of these judgements suggests very intimate acquaintance with the facts.

The sketch, however, is both good and attractive enough to have these things corrected in a second edition, when also the following misprints may be set right: p. 21 l. 10 'that', p. 39 l. 2 'appear', p. 95 note 'Biggs', p. 98 'apostacy', p. 142 'Mulvian'.

J. F. B-B.

Hypostases plotiniennes et Trinité chrétienne, par FRANÇOIS PICAVET.
(École pratique des Hautes Études, section des Sciences religieuses.
Annuaire 1917-1918. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1917.)

It is nearly thirty years ago since Professor Picavet, along with his colleagues and pupils at the École pratique des Hautes Études, began his series of studies on the writings of Plotinus and their relation to Christian texts. He has shewn that many of the traditional views on the history of scholastic philosophy are baseless legends, in particular the view that the predominant factor in mediaeval thought was Aristotelianism. Its basis was neo-platonic, and even when the real Aristotle

came in, he was interpreted through his neo-platonic commentators, and became 'un précurseur du Christ dans les choses naturelles'.

The present work, bringing to a focus one of the most important results of these studies, shews how the theories of Plotinus were known to the Greek Fathers, and how they were made use of in the gradual formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity. To speak of the influence of Plotinus on this doctrine may not at first sight appear convincing, as very different views are prominently held. Hefele would look for the Logos-doctrine in the Judæo-Alexandrine philosophy, and Kirn quite recently declared that there is no occasion to assume non-christian or extra-biblical sources for the doctrine of the Trinity. He does not so much deny these sources as refuse to look for them. The present question is not that of finding mere parallels between the system of Plotinus and the Trinitarian dogma, but of the actual adoption of Plotinian conceptions during the period when the dogma became more explicitly stated. Not that it is meant by this that the dogma itself was borrowed, nor that it is identical with the Plotinian; it is Christian, but the mere assertion of a Trias is not in itself enough to exclude either modalism or tritheism, as history shews. What factors contributed to its developed expression is a question only to be determined by a close comparison of patristic texts with the neo-platonic writings, and this is the work that is here undertaken.

Dr Picavet first shews what the Plotinian hypostases are, and how Plotinus distinguished the intelligible from the sensible world. The former of these has its own categories—*οὐσία*, movement, stability, identity, and difference. It is ruled by the principle of perfection, which leads to the affirmation both of the foreknowledge of God and of human liberty. The sensible world has categories not very different from Aristotle's, of which the directing principles are identity or contradiction and causality. If *οὐσία* is used for both worlds, it exists, properly speaking, only in the intelligible. It was this distinction which was recognized by the Greek fathers and by St Augustine, and which persisted without any clear knowledge of its origin and significance in the doctrine of the realists.

The theory of the three Plotinian hypostases is next examined in relation to the Nicene Creed and passages in the Fathers. It is shewn that Christian writers reproduce much that had been said by Plotinus and his disciples. They have terms and phrases in common and use the same comparisons. St Athanasius quotes a passage from *Thesphognostus*, which reproduces almost literally the doctrine, comparisons and formulas of Plotinus. The writings of Eusebius are full of similar quotations from Plotinus and Porphyry.

From the theological point of view it may be ~~concluded~~ that the ~~fact~~

of Christian doctrine owing something of its terminology and development to neo-platonism is not more significant than finding the doctrine of the creation in a setting of Babylonian legend. The Fathers themselves acknowledged the relationship, and explained it by supposing that the pagans had acquired their knowledge of theological truths from the Jews. 'What is Plato but Moses speaking Attic?'

Although, like all Dr Picavet's writings, the work is packed with information, it does not profess to be a complete investigation. It would be necessary especially, as he himself says, to bring out also the differences between the Christian and Plotinian doctrines. '*Nous ne voulons établir ni que la théologie chrétienne est sans originalité, ni que la doctrine des hypostases a été prise seule par les Chrétiens. Il nous suffit d'avoir mis en lumière les analogies profondes et les raisons qui justifèrent les emprunts incessants, réfléchis et considérables des Chrétiens au Plotinisme.*'

E. J. THOMAS.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1918 (Vol. lxxxvii, No. 173: Spottiswoode & Co.). A. C. HEADLAM Church Reconstruction: the administrative reform—F. W. PEMBER Recollections and Letters of some Victorian Liberals—H. L. GOUDGE The faith of a modern Churchman—W. JENKINSON London Colleges, Hospitals, and Schools in xvth and xviith century literature, Part II—C. H. TURNER The Church Order of Hippolytus—H. J. CHAYTOR The Body Broken—The War: a turn in the tide—W. H. FRERE Edmund Bishop, Liturgist—A. NAIRNE The poetry of Thomas Hardy—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1918 (Vol. xvii, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). G. D. HICKS James Drummond—C. D. BROAD In what sense is survival desirable?—L. P. JACKS Arms and men: a study of habit—S. H. MELLONE Prayer and experience—W. G. BRAITHWAITE Ghosts as physical facts—W. W. SETON The basis of reunion—W. SANDAY and A. FAWKES The liberal position and the Hereford appointment—B. GIBSON From Science to Religion—R. R. MARETT The primitive medicine-man—A. Y. CAMPBELL German Poetry—a re-valuation—C. C. J. WEBB German militarism in the twelfth century—G. G. COULTON Miracles and the mediaeval man: C. BRERETON Pilgrims—P. E. MATHESON The Triumph of Love (translation)—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1918 (Eighth Series, No. 94: Hodder & Stoughton). H. A. A. KENNEDY St Paul's conception of the knowledge of God—F. R. TENNANT The doctrine of the Trinity: in dogmatic theology—H. H. B. AYLES Psalm cx—N. MACNICOL Transmigration and Karma, and their influence in living Hinduism—J. H. MICHAEL The origin of St John i 13.

November 1918 (Eighth Series, No. 95). A. D. MARTIN The Ascension of Christ—H. R. MACKINTOSH The conception of a finite God—H. SMITH The earliest interpretation of Our Lord's teaching on Divorce—J. P. ARENDZEN Re-writing St Matthew—G. H. WHITAKER 'Naked and laid open'—A. VAN HOONACKER Is the narrative of the Fall a myth?

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1918 (Vol. xxii, No. 4: University of Chicago Press). H. B. ROBINS The theological curriculum and a teaching ministry—F. A. STARRATT The demands of the rural Church upon the theological curriculum—A. C. WATSON The primary problem for an empirical theology, III—J. W. THOMPSON Church and State in mediaeval Germany, IV—G. W. RICHARDS The Church and the Religion of Russia—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1918 (Vol. xvi, No. 4: Princeton University Press). F. W. LOETSCHER Luther and the problem of authority in Religion—E. C. CALDWELL The Fulness of Christ—B. B. WARFIELD The 'higher-life' movement—C. W. HODGE Dr Denney and the doctrine of the Atonement—Notes and notices—Recent literature.

The Journal of Theological Studies

APRIL, 1919

ANTONIO SPAGNOLO

A NOTICE AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WRITINGS.

ON July 30, 1916, the world of sacred learning became the poorer by the death (after an operation, in itself successful) of Antonio Spagnolo, custodian of the Chapter Library at Verona, a self-taught worker who raised himself to a front place among the palaeographers of Europe, and continued worthily the high traditions of Veronese scholarship. It is no light thing to challenge comparison with the great scions of Verona in the eighteenth century, Maffei, Bianchini, Vallarsi, the Ballerini brothers, and I am sure that Spagnolo would have been far too modest to dream of ranking himself in that august company. But students whose ways have led them in recent years to Verona and its MSS would not find it easy to over-estimate the inspiration and the help rendered them, as simply and unconsciously as it was ungrudgingly, by the librarian in charge.

To a memorial notice addressed to the Verona Academy of Agriculture, Science, and Letters, by Count Giuseppe Biadego—a copy of which the author was good enough to send me—I am indebted for a few details about my friend's career, and in particular I have borrowed from it the important bibliography of Spagnolo's publications which is reproduced, almost in full, at the end of these pages.

Antonio Spagnolo was born on January 18, 1863, at Badia Polesine—situated, if I rightly identify it, on the lower Adige between Verona and Rovigo—and at ten years old became a pupil of the Istituto Mazza at Verona, to which, after completing his studies for the priesthood at the Episcopal Seminary, he returned first as vice-rector of the boys' branch of the Institute, and, from 1906, as Superior of the whole Institute, boys' and girls' departments alike. His work in the School was one of the two great interests of his life: the other was his work in the Chapter Library, of which, after the death in 1894 of Canon Giuliani, he was

appointed 'custode' or warden—not being a Canon he could not be technically librarian, and he never attained that dignity. There is probably no collection in Europe which rivals in its antiquity and continuous history the library of Verona: hardly anywhere else can be found so many precious manuscripts of the centuries from the fourth to the tenth after Christ, and nowhere else, I think, have so large a proportion of the ancient MSS belonged to their present home since the date of their writing. Among its treasures are some of the oldest and most important of the Latin MSS of Canons; a sixth-century MS, for instance, lix [57], one of a small group of four contemporary MSS probably written for the church of Verona, and a seventh- or eighth-century MS, lx [58], containing a unique collection of apparently African *provenance*. My own studies, therefore, drew me to Verona on nearly every visit that I paid to Italy from my first in 1890 down to my most recent in 1911: and of some eight or ten occasions on which I must have worked in the library, Spagnolo was in charge of it on all save the first and perhaps the second. The library was open daily to scholars from 10 a.m. till 2 p.m.; though for some three-quarters of an hour, between 12 and 1 o'clock, the *custode* would retire home for his dinner, leaving one locked in, a proceeding to which I never felt quite reconciled. On my later visits, when we had become more intimate, he would, if I were pressed for time and wanted to work in the afternoon or on Sunday, take the MS on which I was employed back with him when the library was closed for the day, and I would make my journey, across the old Roman bridge over the Adige and up the slope of the hill immediately opposite, to the Istituto Mazza, and there continue the process of collation in his apartment. In May 1911 I spent a week at Verona, and that was the last time I saw him: one morning, when I was nearing the end of the work I had come to do, we went upstairs from the ground-floor room in the Chapter Library set apart for working purposes—the mark of the height attained by the great flood of 1882 is some three or four feet from the ground—to the upper floor where the manuscripts themselves are spaciouly housed, and there we turned over some of the oldest of them. Two extraordinarily antique copies of St Hilary first claimed attention, and next a sixth-century MS labelled with the name of St Maximus of Turin. Here my eye was at once caught by the words 'canones Nicenorum' on the last leaf: and though what I had noticed had nothing really to do with the council of Nicaea, we had in fact lighted on a fragment of a wholly unknown Latin version of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, containing the last chapters of the eighth book followed by the *Apostolic Canons*. The pages were far too difficult of decipherment for me to make much progress with them in the time that remained at my disposal: and Dr Spagnolo undertook the whole task

of transcription, while I digested and edited his material as it reached me in England, and the proofs went to and fro between us till we had satisfied ourselves that all had been done that could be done. The ultimate results were published—apart from the three concluding pages, a sort of appendix, which only appeared in this JOURNAL, October 1913; xv pp. 63-65—in my *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* in the spring of 1913. No sooner was this section of the MS off our hands than Spagnolo's indefatigable industry carried him on to a similar plan of transcription for the earlier portion of the MS, that which (correctly, as I have now no doubt) gave the name of St Maximus to the volume: and a series of Homilies were made public for the first time in *J. T. S.* (January and April 1915, April 1916). Next we attacked the matter which the Roman edition of the *Opera S. Maximi* (A. D. 1784) had already published on the unique testimony of our MS: the tract *adversus Paganos* appeared in a much improved form in *J. T. S.* July 1916, and the companion tract *adversus Iudaeos* is to follow in the next (July) number. The process of revision by which Dr Spagnolo examined, and verified or rejected after a second inspection of the MS, my own suggestions and conjectures made on the basis of his first transcription is lacking for this second tract, for the *adversus Paganos* had barely appeared (I am not sure of the exact day of the publication of our July number in 1916) at the time of his death. But even for the *adversus Iudaeos* a glance over the apparatus at the foot of any of its pages, when published, will shew how large an advance has been made towards the presentation of a complete text: while the Roman edition suffers from some twenty serious *lacunae*, the number will be in our edition reduced to three—so systematically and successfully were the difficulties of decipherment faced and overcome by my colleague in the work.

We may well be thankful that the city which he loved and served has been spared the worst horrors of disfigurement or conquest in the late war: but free though Verona is again from the dangers that threatened and more than threatened it, it can never be quite the same place to the scholars to whom it had been, for the last twenty years before the war, indissolubly associated with the burly figure and cheery face of Antonio Spagnolo.

Two small reminiscences I may add, for they will shew better than many words the nature of the man: he gave his services to sacred science for little or no material gain, and what material gain came in his way he accepted only for the objects to which his life was devoted. I once asked him what salary he received for his work as custodian of the Chapter Library: the answer was, A lira a day. On another occasion I forwarded him a small sum that had been collected among a few

English scholars in recognition of his assistance, I think it was £10: he accepted it with gratitude, and wrote that it would come in splendidly for 'leaving gifts' (bursaries) to the best of the girls whose time at the Institute would expire that summer. And when a few books were selected, as something that he could not well divert from himself to his pupils, he took them as gratefully as he had taken the money—and presented them to the Chapter Library. *Non perdet mercedem suam.*

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[54. Maximus of Turin *contra Paganos*. A. Spagnolo and C. H. Turner. *J. T. S.* July 1916, xvii 321-337.]

Count Biadego adds that on p. 16 of the pamphlet numbered 24 in the above list Spagnolo relates that he was invited by Padre Ehrle to prepare a catalogue of the Verona MSS for publication in the series of *Studi, testi e cataloghi* of which the authorities of the Vatican Library were in charge: and he believes that Spagnolo did complete this work, and that the manuscript of it was duly sent to Rome in his lifetime.

C H. TURNER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

A FRESH EXAMINATION OF THE CURRENT THEORY OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

IN this discussion my object is to re-examine the usage of the Hebrew tenses in the light of the Babylonian, and to suggest certain modifications in the currently accepted theory. Looking at the usages of the Hebrew and Babylonian tenses in comparison with those of the other Semitic languages, we observe that each of the former exhibit, upon the current view, certain peculiarities in regard to which they seem to stand apart, both from one another and from the other cognate languages. In Hebrew we have the usage of *wāw* consecutive—a usage which so far has only been discovered, outside Biblical Hebrew, in the Moabitic inscription of Mesha and the Aramaic inscription of Zakir king of Hamath; in Babylonian we find the peculiarity that the ordinary historical tense is not, as in the other Semitic languages, the Perfect, but a form (usually called the Preterite) both etymologically and visibly identical with the Semitic Imperfect, the functions of this latter being performed by a similarly constructed but somewhat differently vocalized form (the so-called Present), while the usage of the tense which corresponds in form to the Semitic Perfect presents peculiarities which are roughly indicated by the title Perman-sive. My purpose is to argue that these peculiarities in the two languages are really connected; and that realization of this connexion should lead us to modify our theory of the Hebrew tenses in two respects: (1) in the use of the terms 'Perfect' and 'Imperfect', with the connotations which are attached to these terms, and (2) in our explanation of the usage of the tenses with *wāw* consecutive. In both of these questions it is with the Perfect rather than with the Imperfect that I am mainly concerned. (1) the term 'Perfect' seems to me ill-suited to express what I conceive to be the main underlying conception of the tense, and (2) the current explanation of the conception involved in the usage of the so-called 'Perfect' with *wāw* consecutive appears to me to be radically wrong—and that owing to the inaccurate conception which we have formed as to the tense itself.

Before dealing with the Babylonian tenses it is perhaps advisable to give the forms in full, as they occur in the *Ḳal* or simple stem. In the case of the Perman-sive, about which I have most to say, I give the

parallel Perfect forms of the other principal Semitic languages, using, for convenience sake, the conventional paradigm root קטל .¹

Sing.	Bab.	Aram.	Heb.	Arab.	Ethiop.
3 m.	kaṭil	keṭal	kāṭāl	ḳātala	ḳātála
3 f.	kaṭlat	kitlat	kāṭelā	ḳatalat	ḳatálat
2 m.	kaṭlāt(a)	keṭalt(a)	kāṭáltā	ḳatálta	ḳatálka
2 f.	kaṭlāti	keṭalt(i)	kāṭált(i) ²	ḳatálti	katalki
1 c.	kaṭlāk(u)	kiṭlēt	kāṭálti	ḳatáltu	ḳatálkú
Plur.					
3 m.	kaṭlû	keṭalû	kāṭelû	ḳatalû	ḳatálû
3 f.	kaṭlâ	keṭalâ	(kāṭelâ) ³	ḳatálna	ḳatálâ
2 m.	kaṭlâtunu	keṭaltûn	keṭaltém	ḳatáltum	ḳatalkémmû
2 f.		keṭaltên	keṭaltén	ḳatáltinna	ḳatalkén
1 c.	kaṭlâni	keṭalnâ	kâtálnû	ḳatálnâ	ḳatálna

The Babylonian Present and Preterite run as follows:—

Sing.	Present.	Preterite.
3 m.	ikáṭ(t)al	ikṭul
3 f.	taḳaṭ(t)al	taḳṭul
2 m.	taḳát(t)al	taḳṭul
2 f.	taḳát(t)ali	taḳṭulî
1 c.	aḳát(t)al	aḳṭul
Plur.		
3 m.	ikáṭ(t)alû(ni)	ikṭulû(ni)
3 f.	ikáṭ(t)alâ(ni)	ikṭulâ(ni)
2 m.	taḳát(t)alû	taḳṭulû
2 f.	taḳát(t)alâ	taḳṭulâ
1 c.	niḳát(t)al	niḳṭul

¹ The root is unknown in Babylonian, and occurs in Biblical Hebrew only as an Aramaism (Ps. cxxxix 19; Job xiii 15, xxiv 14). In Arabic and Ethiopic the middle consonant is η and not ḳ .

² For instances of the form קטלתי cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch § 44 h.

³ The survival of the 3rd fem. plur. in Hebrew is somewhat doubtful, but it seems natural so to explain forms ending in תִּנִּי with fem. plur. subject. In many (though not in all) of these the Massoretes have substituted the termination תִּנִּי , which came regularly to be adopted in later times, owing probably to the identity of the 3rd fem. plur. form with that of the 3rd fem. sing. Cf. cases cited in Gesenius-Kautzsch § 44 m; and add Ps. xlv 10, redividing the stichoi in accordance with the rhythmical scheme (4 beats to the line)—

בנות מלכים	בירותיך נצב
שנל לימנך	בכתם אופיר
mid thy favourites stand;	'Daughters of kings
decked in gold of Ophir'.	The queen is on thy right

In the Present the doubling of the middle radical, which may or may not occur, serves merely to mark the accentual stress, and is not formative.

In dealing with the Permansive it will be well to illustrate the usage of the tense before discussing its formation. The name 'Permansive' is due to the distinguished Assyriologist Edward Hincks, who divided the Babylonian verbal forms into two great classes, which he named respectively Permansive and Mutative. 'The former denotes continuance in the state which the verb signifies in that conjugation; the latter denotes change into that state.'¹ Characteristic usages of the Permansive may be classified as follows.

With stative verbs:

'He is clad (*la-biř*) with a garment' (Gilgames-Epic, I ii 38).

'I am afraid and (*pal-ḥa-ku-ma*) do not approach him' (*id.* I iii 35).

'His body was feeble (*ul-lu-la*, Pi'el)' (*id.* I iv 26).

'Thou art fair (*[dam]-ka-ta*), Engidu, thou art like a god' (*id.* I iv 34).

'Her speech is pleasing (*ma-gir*)' (*id.* I iv 40).

'Who rests not (*la řa-li-lu*²) day nor night' (*id.* I v 19).

'He was too strong for me (*[d]a-an eli-ia*)' (*id.* I v 29).

'Thy proportions are not changed (*ul řa-na-a*), and thou art not changed (*at-ta ul řa-na-ta*)' (*id.* XI 3 f).

'That city became old (*la-bir*)' (*id.* XI 13).

'It was moistened (*rař-bat*, lit. 'was moist')' (*id.* XI 225).

'Gilgames spied a well whose waters were cold (*ka-řu-u*)' (*id.* XI 302).

'Thou then art honourable (*kař-ta-ta*) among the mighty gods' (Creation-epic, IV 3).

'They were terrible (*ra-ař-ba*) in the attack' (*id.* IV 55).

'Towards the place of Tiamat, who was enraged (*řa aggař*), his face he set' (*id.* IV 60).

'In her lips, which were swollen (*řa lul-la-a*, Pi'el), she holds rebellious words' (*id.* IV 72).

Active verbs often occur as Permansives with a passive signification:

'He is arranged (*up-pu-uř*, Pi'el of *epř-su* 'to make') as to the long hair like a woman' (i.e. 'His long hair is arranged, &c.') (Gilgames-epic, I ii 36).

'A feast is set out (*řa-kin*, from *řakánu* 'to set')' (*id.* I v 8).

'Thou art lying (*na-da-at*, from *na-dú* 'to cast') upon thy back' (*id.* XI 6).

'Šurippak . . . which lies (*řak-nu*²) [upon the bank] of the Euphrates' (*id.* XI 12).

'Their lips were closed (*kař-ma*, from *kařámu* 'to cover')' (*id.* XI 127).

¹ 'Specimen Chapters of an Assyrian Grammar', *JRAS.* n. s. ii (1866) p. 485.

² With *u* termination in a relative clause.

'Sound was stilled (*ša-kin*)' (*id.* XI 133).

'It was cooked (*ba-aš-lat*, from *bašālu* 'to cook')' (*id.* XI 228).

'His mind was overthrown (*sa-pi-iḫ*, from *sapdḫu* 'to overthrow'), his action was paralysed (*si-ḫa-ti*, from *saḫū* 'to destroy')' (Creation-epic, IV 68).

'They were surrounded (*la-mu-u*, from *lamú* 'to surround')' (*id.* IV 110).

'Into the net were they cast (*na-du*, from *nadú* 'to cast')' (*id.* IV 112).

'They were shut up (*ka-lu-u*, from *kalú* 'to shut up') in prison' (*id.* IV 114).

With intransitive verbs used in an active sense:

'Against him they assembled (*paḫ-ru*)' (Gilgameš-epic, I vi 22).

'The gods like a dog crouched down (*kun-nu-nu*, Piel), upon the battlements they lay (*rab-su*)' (*id.* XI 116).

'The gods of the Anunnaki wept (*ba-ku-u*) with her, the gods cowered (*aš-ru*), they sat (*aš-bi*)¹ a weeping' (*id.* XI 125 f).

'But when he sat down (*aš-bu-ma*) upon his haunches, sleep, like a blast, began to blow upon him' (*id.* XI 209 f).

'In my bedchamber sitteth (*a-šib*) death' (*id.* XI 246).

'They drew near (*ḫit-ru-bu*, Ipht^oal) to the fight' (Creation-epic, IV 3).

In comparatively few cases the Permansive is used with transitive verbs governing an accusative:

'O Lord, he who trusts thee (*ša tak-lu-ka*), spare his life' (Creation-epic, IV 17).

'Their teeth carry venom (*na-ša-a im-ta*)' (*id.* IV 53).

'Overthrowing they had learned (*sa-pa-na lam-du*)' (*id.* IV 54).

'A herb of (magic?) he grasped (*ša-mi-im ta-...-i ta-me-iḫ*) with his fingers' (*id.* IV 62).

'The regions they filled with lamentation (*ma-lu-u du-ma-mu*)' (*id.* IV 113).

'His chastisement they bore (*še-rit-su na-šu-u*)' (*id.* IV 114).

Lastly, the Permansive is frequently preceded by *lu*, and used in a precative sense:

'Let Uta-napištim dwell (*lu-u a-šib-ma*) afar off at the mouth of the rivers' (Gilgameš-epic, XI 204).

'Fair let his body appear (*lu šapu*²), let the turban of his head be renewed (*lu-u ud-du-uš*, Piel), with a robe let him be clothed (*lu-u la-biš*)' (*id.* XI 257 f).

'Let the utterance of thy mouth be established (*lu-u ki-na-at*)³' (Creation-epic, IV 9).

¹ For *aš bu*.

² The normal form would be *lu šapi*.

³ *Kinat* for *kinat*. The Permansive of *kānu* offers the two forms *kēn* and *kān*.

'Let thy host be harnessed (*lu ṣa-an-da-at*¹), let thy weapons be girded on (*lu rit-ku-su*, Ipht^{al})' (*id.* IV 85).²

In these illustrations of the usage of the Permansive I have confined myself to three sources, viz. Tablets I and XI of the Gilgameš-epic and Tablet IV of the Creation-epic, and from these I have collected practically all occurrences, only omitting some repetitions, a few instances of doubtful meaning, and cases in which the text is fragmentary and the precise reading in doubt. It is thus possible to gain an idea of the relative proportions of the different usages; and the great preponderance of the properly stative or permansive cases over those which are active—whether intransitive or transitive (especially over the latter)—is at once evident. It is also worthy of notice that in these three tablets together we have a total of 722 lines of poetry (Gilg.-epic I, 250 ll.; XI, 326 ll.; Creat.-epic IV, 146 ll.), with, on the whole, very few lacunae; and it thus appears that the use of the Permansive, as compared with other verbal forms, is somewhat infrequent. The tense which regularly describes historical development is the Preterite, which, as we have already seen, corresponds in formation with the Imperfect of the other Semitic languages. In ordinary historical inscriptions, such as the annals of Assyrian kings, the use of the Permansive is rare,³ historical sequence being described by a series of Preterites, and the inter-connexion of events, which we indicate by 'and', expressed by use of the enclitic particle *-ma*; e.g. *u-ma-'i-ra-ni-ma al-lik* 'he-sent-me-and I-went'.

We may now pass on to the formation of the Permansive. As is the case with the Perfect in other Semitic languages, it is clearly formed by addition of pronominal suffixes to a root-form which appears in the 3rd masc., the connective *ʾ* before these suffixes reminding us of the *ʾ* which appears in the verb *ʾ* doubled in Hebrew, e.g. *סָפַח*.⁴ The suffixes are the same as in the other languages, but exhibit a more exact reproduction of the original pronominal elements than any of them. Sing. *kaṭlā-ta*, *kaṭlā-ti*, *kaṭlā-ku*, Plur. *kaṭlā-tunu*, *kaṭlā-ni*, exhibit the pronominal elements of *at-ta*, *at-ti*, *ana-ku*, *at-tunu*, *ani-ni* unmodified in any respect. In the Perfect-suffixes of each of the other languages there is some modification which implies a stage somewhat further removed from the original formation. Thus, e.g., Ethiopic, which exhibits in the 1st sing. the primitive *-ku* of *anaku*, has in the

¹ *Ṣandat* for *ṣanīdat* (צַמֵּד).

² In this list *lū ṣapū* (צַפּוּ 'look at'), *lū udduṣ*, *lū ṣandāt*, *lū ritkusū* offer additional instances of active verbs used passively in the Permansive.

³ Cf. the statistics given by McCurdy, 'The Semitic Perfect in Assyrian', *Actes du 6^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1883, ii 1 pp. 512 f. (Leiden 1885).

⁴ So Delitzsch *Assyrian Grammar* § 91.

2nd sing. modified *-la* and *-ti* into *-ka* and *-ki* (as in the Semitic noun-suffixes); conversely, Arabic, which accurately preserves the *-la* and *-ti* of the 2nd sing., has modified the *-ku* of the 1st sing. to *-lu*. The Hebrew forms are somewhat further modified, and the Aramaic forms still more so. We observe that the existence in Ethiopic of the 1st pers. pronom. element *-ku*,¹ modified to *-lu* in Arabic, bears witness to the primitive existence in the Semitic parent-language of the longer form of the 1st pers. pronoun, which survives in separate form only in Babylonian *anaku*, and with modified termination in Hebrew אנכי and Moabite and Phoenician אֲנִי (the pronunciation of which is represented as *anech* in Plautus *Poenulus* ii 35); and this conclusion is further borne out by the occurrence of the form in languages in which a more remote connexion with the Semitic group is to be assumed, e.g. Old Egyptian 'nky, Coptic *anok*, Libyan *nek*. It is with good reason, then, that we may expect the Babylonian Permansive to illustrate both the primitive tense-formation of the Semitic so-called Perfect, and the primitive meaning which the tense was intended to convey.

We next observe that in Babylonian or Assyrian we occasionally find predicative statements formed by suffixing pronominal elements on to nominal or adjectival forms precisely in the manner in which the Permansive is constructed. The stock illustration of this is found in Ašurnāširpal's Annals, i 32 f.,² where the king in self-laudation strings together a number of such forms. Thus we find *šarrdāku* = *šarru anaku* 'I am king', *bēldāku* = *bēlu anaku* 'I am lord', *ašariddāku* = *ašaridu anaku* 'I am pre-eminent', *ḫarradāku* = *ḫarradu anaku* 'I am valiant', &c., alongside of *šurruḫdāku* 'I am powerful', which is a properly-formed Permansive Pi'el, and *kabtdāku* 'I am honourable', which may be explained either as the Permansive Kāl of *kabātu*, or as the equivalent of *kabtu anaku*. As a matter of fact it is both, just as in Hebrew the stative verb קָבַדְתִּי is the equivalent of אֲנִי קָבֵד.

Here, then, we have the explanation of the Permansive. The normal form *kaṭil* (in place of which we occasionally find *kaṭul*) is an adjective denoting *state* or *condition*, and this, by the suffixing of pronominal elements, comes to form a predicative statement, i.e. it becomes a verb. A perfect analogy to this method of verb-building was long ago pointed out by G. C. Geldart,³ who compared the Aramaean method of combining the participle and pronoun into a single word—קָטִילְנָא for

¹ This element seems to correspond to the Sumerian KU, which is given in a bilingual fragment (V. R. 20, No. 4) as the equivalent of *anaku*. Cf. Ball *Shumer and Shem* p. 29.

² Cf. Budge and King *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* i p. 265; *Klein-schriftliche Bibliothek* i pp. 56 f.

³ *Transactions of the Oriental Congress* (London), 1874, pp. 25 ff.

קָטַל 'I (am) killing'. This was further emphasized by Sayce in an important article on the formation of the Assyrian verb,¹ in which he also pointed out that the Syriac ܐܢܐ ܡܠܝܚܐ 'I am king' in such a passage as John xix 21; ܐܢܐ ܡܠܝܚܐ ܐܝܬܝܢܐ is 'as perfect a representation of the Assyrian *šarrāku* as we can well have'. Sayce regards the 3rd sing. masc. of the Permansive as, 'so far as the form goes, simply the participle present stripped of its case-endings'; and the same view is taken by Haupt.² Since, however, the regular 3rd masc. sing. form of the Permansive is *kaṭil*, with the vowel of the first syllable (so far as we can judge) unprolonged, it is surely more correct to identify the form with the adjectival (or *stative* participial) form which appears in Hebrew as קָטַל, e. g. כָּבֵד 'heavy', טָמֵא 'unclean', זָקֵן 'old', &c. Modifications of this original stative *kaṭil* or *kaṭul* were produced by lengthening the final vowel, as in the passive Participles קָטִיל (Aramaic קְטִיל) and קָטֹל; and by lengthening of the first vowel there resulted *kūṭil*, i. e. the active Participle *kaṭ*, denoting a continuous state or action of indefinite duration.

Barth³ combats the view that the Babylonian Permansive is the original of the Semitic Perfect on the ground that resemblance is only to be found in the *kaṭ*, whereas 'the nominal substratum of the remaining Permansive forms has nothing whatever in common with the Perfect forms of the corresponding conjugations'. This may appear to be so, if we compare their vocalization with the corresponding *active* forms; but it should be noticed that the resemblance to the *passive* forms is striking. Thus the Pi'el *kūṭul* is like Hebrew קָטַל, and the Shaph'el *šukṭul* like Hebrew קָטַל, just as the Niph'al *naḫṭul* is like Hebrew נָקַט (originally נִקַּט). If exception be taken to the difference of the second vowels (in Bab. *u*, in Heb. *a*), we may remind ourselves of the fact that in the Arabic passive forms the second vowel is not *a* but *i*; yet no one doubts that Ar. *kuttila* = Heb. קָטַל, and that Ar. *'ukṭila* = Heb. קָטַל, קָטַל. It would appear that this second vowel is formally non-significant, and so variable. It is worthy of note that, just as the Bab. Infinitive *kaṭālu* is the exact equivalent of the Heb. Infinitive Absolute קָטַל, and the Bab. Infinitive Niph'al *naḫṭulu* the exact equivalent of the Heb. Infinitive Absolute נָקַט, so is the Bab. Infinitive Pi'el *kūṭulu* the exact equivalent, not of the Heb. Infinitive Absolute קָטַל or קָטַל, but of the Pu'al קָטַל. It thus appears that, though the passive modifications are as yet undeveloped in Babylonian, we can

¹ 'The Tenses of the Assyrian Verb', *JRAS.* ix n. s. (1877) pp. 22 ff.

² 'The oldest Semitic verb-form', *JRAS.* x n. s. (1878) pp. 244 ff.

³ 'Das semitische Perfect im Assyrischen', *ZA.* ii (1887) pp. 375 ff.

Concluding, then, that the original conception of the Permanive was that of a timeless *state*, and that this was represented by combination of an adjective of *kaṭil* (or, more rarely, *kaṭul*) form of stative meaning (or, an originally nominal form adapted to this norm) with pronominal elements, we next recall the fact that the tense also (though more rarely) exhibits an active usage, both intransitive and transitive. The origin of this development is probably to be found in the fact that predicative statements descriptive of a *characteristic*, whether inherent—e. g. 'he is (or was) a hater', 'he is (or was) a lover'—or accidental—e. g. 'he is (or was) judge', 'he is (or was) king'—naturally tend to pass over into the application of the characteristic to particular circumstances which limit or define its sphere of action—'he hated, loved, judged' a specified person; 'he reigned' within a specified period. Instances of this active usage are not, as is ordinarily the stative usage, of timeless or indefinite duration, but their beginning and ending have come to be more or less sharply defined by the context, as is necessarily the case with verbs describing action. I need only refer to the passage from Tab. XI, ll. 114 ff of the Gilgameš-epic, which describes the alarm of the gods during the storm which produced the flood, where the Permanive forms which we have already noticed occur in the midst of a series of Preterites: 'The gods feared (*ip-la-hu*, Pret.) the flood and withdrew (*it-te-ih-su*, Pret.), they ascended (*i-te-lu-u*, Pret.) to the heaven of Anu. The gods like a dog crouched down (*kun-nu-nu*,

¹ *op. cit.* p. 378. This view is adopted by Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleich. Gramm. der semit. Sprache* § 261, and by Hans Bauer, *Die Tempora im Semitischen* pp. 17, 18, 20. It is rejected by Haupt, 'Prolegomena to a Comparative Assyrian Grammar', *JAOS.* xiii (Proceedings at Baltimore, 1887) pp. ccxlix ff, and by Knudtzon, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik', *Z.A.* vi (Feb. 1892) pp. 408 ff.

Permans.), upon the battlements they lay (*rab-šu*, Permans.).' Here the beginning of the actions denoted by the Permansives *kunnnunu*, *rab-šu* is necessarily subsequent to the action described by the Preterite *itellu*, and their duration more vaguely limited by the duration of the cause of alarm. Such a limitation is, of course, also occasionally to be seen in cases which exhibit the stative meaning—cf. the account of the spell worked upon Gilgames by Uta-napištim and his wife (XI, ll. 224 ff): 'First, his meal was ground (*ša-bu-šat*,¹ Permans.); secondly, it was hulled (*muš-šu-kat*,¹ Permans. Pi'el); thirdly, it was moistened (*rat-bat*, Permans.); fourthly, the mass of it became white (*ip-te-ši*, Pret.); fifthly, a scum it threw off (*it-ta-di*, Pret.); sixthly, it was cooked (*baš-lat*, Permans.); seventhly, on a sudden he touched him and (*il-pu-us-su-ma*, Pret.) the man awoke (*i-te-ḫil-ta-a*, Pret.).' Here the beginning and ending of each stage, whether described by Permansive or Preterite, is defined by the context as sharply as could be.

Thus we see in the Permansive something like the range of usage which is possessed by the Hebrew Perfect. And when we add such a transitive usage as is illustrated, e.g. by a passage from the Annals of Ašurbanipal² (the king's dream of the coming of Ištar of Arbela to his help), *taḥ-ḥa-at (iṣu) ḫašta i-na i-di-ša šal-pat nam-ša-ru zaḫ-tu ša e-piṣ ta-ḥa-zi* 'she held a bow at her side, she unsheathed the sharp sword of battle', where the verbal forms, and the whole sentence, are almost Hebrew as they stand (חַמְכָּה קִשָּׁת עַל-יָדָהּ שְׁלִפָּהּ חָרֵב עִשׂוֹת מִלְחָמָה הִחֲדָה), the question of the identity of the Babylonian Permansive with the Hebrew Perfect, in form as well as in usage, may be regarded as proved beyond question.

If, then, the Babylonian Permansive is the proper equivalent of the Hebrew Perfect, how is it that in historical narrative the Preterite—in form identical with the Hebrew Imperfect—ordinarily takes its place. and what in Hebrew is the proper equivalent of this Preterite? I will illustrate this by quotation of the passage which first set me on the track of this investigation—the opening lines of Tablet I of the Creation-epic:

'When, on high, heaven was not named (*la na-bu-u*, Permans.),
Beneath, the earth a name was not called (*la zak-rat*, (Permans.),
Then primeval Apsû, their progenitor,
And Mummu, Tiāmat, who was to bear them all,—
Their waters together were mingled (*i-ḫi-ku-u-ma*, Pret.).

¹ The meaning of *šabušat*, *muššukat* is doubtful. In rendering the latter verb we infer the existence of a verb *mašāku* 'to skin' from the existence of the substantive *mašku* 'skin'.

² *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* ii p. 250.

No field was embanked (*la ki-iš-su-ra*, Permans.), no reed-bed was seen (*la še-'a*, Permans.).

When none of the gods had been called into being (*la šu-pu-u*, (Permans.),

No name was named (*la zuk-ku-ru*, Permans.), no destinies were fixed (*la [ši-ma]*, Permans.).

Then were created (*iš-ba-nu-u-ma*, Pret.) the gods in the midst of heaven,

Lahmu and Lahamu were called into being (*uš-ta-pu-u*, Pret.),

Ages increased (*ir-bu-u*, Pret.).'

Here we have a timeless condition of being—or rather of not-being—expressed by a series of Permānsives, which forms a background. Out of this background events begin to emerge into time, and this emergence is in every case expressed by use of the Preterite—'were mingled', 'then were created', &c. This is precisely the mode of thought which we associate with the use of the Imperfect with *wāw* consecutive in Hebrew; and it seems therefore reasonable to conclude that the Babylonian Preterite, like the Hebrew Imperfect, properly denotes the *emergence* of an event into being out of a preceding condition of affairs explicit or implicit in the narrative.

The reason for the great prevalence of the Preterite over the Permānsive in the description of past events is that events involving *action* are naturally pictured as coming into being out of a fixed point in time; whereas the Permānsive, preserving generally its prime significance of a timeless *state*, is not normally required in narrative with frequency. We have seen, however, that the Permānsive exhibits instances of the developement of an active usage, which may be judged to be a secondary developement, both from its comparative infrequency alongside of the stative usage, and also because nearly all Permānsive forms, whether stative or active in meaning, go back normally to the stative formation *kašil*. This active usage has reached a much wider vogue in Hebrew than in Babylonian, and hence arises the comparatively greater frequency of the so-called Perfect; but, even so, in good Hebrew prose the use of the Imperfect with *wāw* consecutive largely preponderates over that of the Perfect alone.

If objection be taken to this equation of the Babylonian usage of the Preterite with the Hebrew usage of the Imperfect with *wāw* consecutive on the ground that the latter is inseparably dependent upon the connexion afforded by the *wāw*, and that the breaking of this involves a lapse into the Perfect, whereas in Babylonian the Preterite occurs regularly in historical narration without any equivalent to *wāw* consecutive, it may be replied that the essential idea involved in the use of the Imperfect with *wāw* consecutive in Hebrew—that of nascency out of

springing out of the preceding circumstances indicated by the context, is one which is unassailable, fortified as it is especially by the idiomatic use of the construction after a time-determination, and of the plain Imperfect after the temporal particle *ʾān* 'then', which as it were takes the place of the *wāw* consecutive and all that it indicates. My quarrel is with the current explanation of the so-called Perfect as implying the *completion* of the event described, in contrast to the idea of incompleteness contained in the Imperfect; and if my discussion of the usage of the Babylonian Permansive, and the attempt to prove that it is the analogue of the Hebrew so-called Perfect, have been at all clear, the inference should have followed that I find the ground-conception of the latter, like the former, in *the mere existence of a state* in the first place, *then*, by development, *of an action, apart from all idea of time-definition or limitation*. It may perhaps be argued that this objection to the ordinary explanation is a mere quibble—if a state or action is thought of as *existing*, it may be described as *complete*, and designated as Perfect. This is questionable, as has been pointed out by Knudtzon.¹ I will now proceed to illustrate the defect of the theory as seen in the current explanation of the construction of the Perfect with *wāw* consecutive.

The terms 'Perfect' and 'Imperfect' were first employed by Ewald in his *Arabic Grammar* of 1839 as a substitute for the unsuitable names 'Preterite' and 'Future';² and it is to Ewald that we must trace the origin of the current explanation of the usage of the Perfect with *wāw* consecutive, which he termed 'the relatively-progressive Perfect'. According to this scholar, just as, in the construction of the Imperfect with *wāw* consecutive, 'the flowing sequence of time or thought causes that which has been realized, and exists, to be regarded as passing over into new realization; so, in the present case, it has the effect of at once representing that which is advancing towards realization, as entering into full and complete existence. Hence, each of the plain tenses gracefully intersects the other, by interchanging with its opposite.'³ A similar explanation of the construction is given by Olshausen⁴ and Böttcher,⁵ the former scholar remarking that the usage 'rests originally upon a play of the imagination, in virtue of which the apparently necessary *consequence* of an action already mentioned or circumstance already indicated was viewed as a *completed* one'. This

¹ 'Vom sogenannten Perfekt und Imperfekt im Hebräischen', *Actes du 8^e Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania, Section Sémitique B* (1891) pp. 73 ff.

² Cf. *Hebrew Syntax* § 134 b, note 1 (Eng. Trans. p. 3).

³ Cf. *op. cit.* pp. 22 f.

⁴ *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache* i (1861) § 229 a.

⁵ *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache* (1866) § 975 d.

is accepted by Driver,¹ with the proviso that 'the consciousness of this relation is to be conceived as essentially dependent upon *union with waw*, of which union the change of tone (where not hindered from taking place by external or accidental causes) is the inseparable criterion and accompaniment: dissolve this union, and the sense of any special relationship immediately vanishes. In fact, the *waw* possesses really in this connexion a demonstrative significance, being equivalent to *then* or *so*: in this capacity, by a pointed reference to some preceding verb, it *limits* the possible realization of the action introduced by it to those instances in which it can be treated as a direct consequence of the event thus referred to . . . An action described by this construction is regarded, it is true, as completed, but *only with reference to the preceding verb*, only *so far as the preceding action necessitates or permits*'.

This theory must surely be deemed highly forced and unnatural. In the unfolding of a series of events introduced by the Imperfect—let us say, of a series of future events, this being by far the commonest conception denoted by the tense—the first of which is from its very nature contingent merely and not certain of accomplishment, can it have been thought that the realization of this first event must necessarily lead to the due succession of later developments in the chain so surely that they could be pictured as already complete, supposing that the antecedent link in the chain be realized? An event which is dependent upon a future contingency is naturally pictured as more and not less contingent than its antecedent, inasmuch as the chances against its realization are inevitably increased; and the longer the chain of events, the less is the likelihood that each successive event will be realized as it is pictured. If, however, we eliminate the idea of *completion* from the so-called Perfect tense, and substitute that of mere *existence*, the difficulty seems to be solved. Take such a sentence as תָּלַךְ וַתִּסְדֹּךְ וַתִּבְרַח 'Thou shalt go, and shalt stand, and shalt cry', and you have no ground for asserting that the *standing* and the *crying* must necessarily follow supposing that the hypothetical *going* takes place. But if תָּלַךְ וַתִּסְדֹּךְ וַתִּבְרַח imply no more in their original conception than 'and thou standing, and thou crying', then that which is predicated is wholly vague, as we naturally expect it to be. The conception, in fact, is not much more definite than that which would be implied by the use of the Infinitive Absolute וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתִּסְדֹּךְ 'and standing and crying', the only difference being that it gains a little more definiteness through specification of the actor.

If, then, we reject the name 'Perfect' as unsuitable to express the underlying conception of the tense, the question arises as to what name

¹ *Hebrew Tenses* § 108.

we can substitute as better expressing the dominant idea. The name 'Permansive', though suitable enough for the tense as we find it in Babylonian, is hardly comprehensive enough to include the further developments which we find in Hebrew and other Semitic languages. Knudtson speaks of the tense as 'Vorliegendes', and offers somewhat tentatively the name 'Factum'.¹ Without having recourse to so vague a Latin title, we may conclude that the natural designation of a tense which merely predicates the existence of a state or action apart from all idea of time-limitation or definition is *Aorist*, and there seems no reason why this designation should not be adopted. The name has actually been offered in a very brief discussion of the Hebrew Tenses by Prof. W. G. Ballantine which appeared in *Hebraica* ii, Oct. 1885, pp. 53-55—a discussion which, though it seems to have been ignored by later writers, yet appears to me to get to the root of the question in a surprisingly clear-headed manner, and that without recourse to comparison of the Babylonian usage. According to this scholar, there are in Hebrew two tenses, the *Aorist* and the *Subsequent*, answering respectively to the Perfect and Imperfect as commonly defined. 'The Aorist Tense expresses the mere predication of a fact. It asserts the occurrence of the action signified by the verb, without connotation of the time of that occurrence.' 'The Subsequent Tense connotes the act predicated as following upon or arising out of a known act or situation of affairs.' In my opinion this summary description of the functions of the two tenses could hardly be bettered.

The reason for the prevalence of Perfects of the form middle *a* (*kaʾal*) in all Semitic languages except Babylonian is naturally to be associated with the growth of the active significance in the usage of this tense. The vowels *i* and *u* denoting, primarily, *state* in the Permansive, the form with *a* was adopted to differentiate the active idea, when that came to be developed. The *a* form *kaʾal* as employed with this significance was not, however, a new creation. It is the form which was already in use in the Present *ikáʾal* (we may grant this much to the theory of Barth), and (with lengthened vowel) in the Infinitive *kaʾálu*.

As for the two forms *ikáʾal* and *ikʾul*, which we know respectively as the Present and Preterite in Babylonian, it can hardly be doubted that they were originally one. The Ethiopic Indicative *yěkáʾēl*, Subjunctive *yěkʾēl*, have often been compared. The identity of Ethiopic *yěkáʾēl* (which stands probably for an original *yěkatal*, the *ā* being dulled to *ē* in the toneless syllable) with Babylonian *ikáʾal* can hardly be an accidental phenomenon, but must rather be taken as evidence for the antiquity of this form as belonging to the Semitic parent-language.² Now in Ethiopic *yěkʾēl* is clearly a contraction of *yěkáʾēl*, which has

¹ *op. cit.* p. 74.

² Cf. Haupt *op. cit.* *JRAS.* p. 246.

been made in order to mark a modification in usage ; and similarly in Babylonian it may be assumed that *ikatal* was the original form employed in order to describe an event in process of coming into being, and that this was later on contracted into *iklal* in order to mark a *time-differentiation*, the fuller form being allocated to the Present-Future theme, the contracted to the Preterite theme. Why *iklal* should normally have become *iklul* is not clear. That the Preterite form is, however, really a contraction of the Present form is supported by the fact that a very numerous class has *i* as vowel of the final syllable in both forms: e.g. *imalik*, *imlik* ; *ipalik*, *iplik*. In favour of such a contraction Delitzsch¹ cites the analogy of the Permative form of the Ipht'al, where *kitalud* becomes *kilud*, the two forms continuing in use side by side.

C. F. BURNEY.

¹ *Assyrian Grammar* § 87.

POPE INNOCENT I 'DE NOMINIBUS RECITANDIS'.

THE letter (xxv) of Pope Innocent I to Decentius, bishop of Gubbio, contains a passage which has long been a *crux interpretum*. This is the section in which he defines the place in the Mass at which the names of 'offerers' should be read out to the people. Strangely enough the question which remains under debate is, at what precise point in the service the recital of names should, according to Innocent, take place. The answer to be given to this question is a matter of extreme importance for the history and criticism of the Roman Canon of the Mass. One group of liturgical writers deduce from the Pope's words that in the year 416, when the letter was written, the Roman Canon of the Mass had somewhere after the recital of the Institution a prayer of general intercession with Diptychs of the living and dead, corresponding to the Great Intercession and Diptychs of the Eastern liturgies.¹

It is the purpose of this Note to examine the passage afresh, and with special reference to the above interpretation of it. We must begin by having the text before us; and since the preceding section of the letter (that concerned with the position of the kiss of peace) helps to illustrate the terminology of our passage, it also may be quoted.²

Ep. xxv § 4. Pacem igitur asseris ante confecta mysteria quosdam populis imperare, vel sibi inter se sacerdotes tradere, cum post omnia, quae aperire non debeo, pax sit necessario indicenda, per quam constet populum ad omnia, quae in mysteriis aguntur atque in ecclesia celebrantur, praebuisse consensum, ac finita esse pacis concludentis signaculo demonstrantur.

¹ So the late Dr Paul Drews *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe* (Tübingen and Leipzig 1902) pp. 34-35; Dr Anton Baumstark *Liturgia Romana e Liturgia dell' Esarcato* (Rome 1904) pp. 70-74; Dr Adrian Fortescue *The Mass* (Longmans, 2nd ed. 1914) pp. 132-133, 170-171. At an earlier date Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen* vol. iii (Schwerin 1859) pp. 6-7, argued from the passage that at the beginning of the fifth century the Roman Canon contained a general intercession in two parts, the first before, the second after the 'consecration'; each part being accompanied by a recital of names and special prayers for the individuals mentioned. Evidently in his view the first part of this intercession concerned the living, the second the dead. Kliefoth's view does not exactly correspond with that of the writers just mentioned; but the ground on which he places a part and they the whole of a general intercession *after* the consecration is the same, viz. the wording of the last clause in § 5 of Innocent's letter.

² I employ the edition of Coustant-Schoenemann, Göttingen 1796.

§ 5. De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam precem sacerdos faciat atque eorum oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda sunt, sua oratione commendet, quam superfluum sit et ipse pro tua prudentia recognoscis, ut cuius hostiam necdum Deo offeras, eius ante nomen insinues, quamvis illi incognitum sit nihil. Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandae, ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum sunt, edicenda; ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur, non inter alia, quae ante praemittimus, ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus.

The last clause of § 5 ('ut inter sacra mysteria', &c.) is usually (in fact always, so far as I know) translated so as to give the sense: 'so that they may be named in the course of the sacred mysteries, not in the course of those other things which we place before: so that by the mysteries themselves we may open the way for the prayers that are to come' ('futuris precibus').

According to the writers referred to above, the 'prayers' ('preces') here mentioned, for which the 'mysteries' prepare the way (and which accordingly must come *after* the 'mysteries') are those of an Intercession which stood at the end of the Canon.

But here a difficulty presents itself. Innocent, in this section of his letter, has set out to speak of the mere reading of a list of names ('De nominibus vero recitandis')—the names of those who have made offerings¹ at an early point in the service; and so far he has given no hint that anything else is in his mind but just this only. How then does he come here at the end, in summing up and pointing his argument, to refer in this matter-of-course fashion to certain 'prayers' of which he has previously said nothing?

To this it is answered in effect, that the reading out of a list of names constitutes the liturgical item known as 'the Diptychs'; that in the Eastern rites the Diptychs commonly occur in connexion with the Intercession in the anaphora; that Innocent consequently uses the word 'preces' (at the end of the section) to denote the whole complex of Intercession *plus* Diptychs of living and dead; and that 'preces' in the last clause is therefore equivalent to what has hitherto been called simply 'nomina recitanda', 'nomina edicenda'. This identification is to be carefully borne in mind in the sequel.

As to the assumptions underlying this equation a word will be said later. Here it will be enough to remark that even if it were a fact that

¹ *Oblationes*. He appears to speak primarily of the people's offering of the bread and wine for the Sacrifice. But we must probably not restrict the *oblationes* to this; for St Jerome *Com. in Esch.* lib. vi cap. 18 (Migne *P. L.* xxv 175 B, C) speaks of the public recital of the names of those who have made or promised money offerings—'tantum offert illa, tantum ille pollicitus est'. As practically all St Jerome's works were written for Latin readers, it seems unreasonable to doubt that he here describes a Roman, or at least a Western practice.

the Roman Canon in Innocent's day contained an Intercession after the recital of Institution, his supposed reference to it in the present context would still be most abrupt, foreshadowed as it is by nothing that has gone before, and the reference itself highly questionable. But there is a whole crop of further difficulties in the way of identifying the 'prayers' at the end of the section with the previous 'nomina recitanda'.

1. It is sufficiently clear that both in § 4 and § 5 of his letter Innocent employs the word 'mysteria' as virtually equivalent to what we call the Canon of the Mass. When therefore in § 5 he insists that the names of offerers are to be read out 'in the course of ('inter') the sacred mysteries', he means 'in the course of the Canon: not before it, but also not after it. On the other hand (according to the interpretation of his words which we are considering), Innocent states that the mysteries, that is the Canon, prepare the way for the 'preces' to come *after*. I do not see how 'futuris precibus' can possibly imply less than this, or how that expression is consistent with the idea that the 'preces' came anywhere *within* the Canon—even towards the end of it. Innocent has a very clear notion as to where the Canon ends: it ends just where the kiss of peace is given, which serves as its 'seal' and shews that it is closed (see § 4). Hence we do not expect to find him saying loosely, now that something occurs in the course of the Canon ('inter sacra mysteria') which really follows it; now that something follows the Canon which really takes place in the course of it. But this contradiction is involved in the equation of 'nomina recitanda' with 'preces' of the last clause.

2. The only mention of 'prayer' in § 5 previous to the 'preces' of the last clause occurs in the passage in which Innocent declares that the names are not to be proclaimed 'antequam *precem* sacerdos faciat atque eorum oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda sunt, sua *oratione commendat*'; after which he adds: 'prius ergo oblationes sunt *commendandae*, ac tunc . . . nomina . . . edicenda'. Here 'prex' and 'oratio' are one and the same thing, the prayer by which the priest 'commends' to God the people's gifts.

Is this 'prex-oratio', then, also equivalent to the Canon, within which (or is it after which?) the Intercession and Diptychs find their place? and is it accordingly distinct from the 'preces' (i. e., *ex hypothesi*, the Intercession) mentioned at the end of the section? On the hypothesis we are considering, it must at least be different from the 'preces'; and it is in fact taken to mean the Canon, or a part of the Canon. But then, (a) it is unnatural that 'preces' at the end should refer to other prayers than those previously mentioned; and (b) 'commendare' is not an apt word by which to express the purpose of the Canon. In an earlier passage (§ 3) of his letter Innocent has

spoken of the Roman *mos* 'in consecrandis mysteriis': why should he not use 'consecrare' here, if that is what he means?

But on the view that 'prex-oratio' denotes the Canon, there is another difficulty to be faced. The 'commendation' of the gifts effected by this prayer is presently alluded to in the following manner: Your own good sense tells you how superfluous it is 'ut cuius hostiam *necdum* (i. e. not before the 'prex-oratio') Deo *offerat*, eius ante nomen *insinuet*'. Are we to understand Innocent as saying that before the Canon is reached no 'offering' or 'commendation' of the gifts has taken place? But the collects called *secreta* or *super oblata* in the Roman Sacramentaries are framed and designed precisely as offertory prayers; and the 'secret', which is certainly as old as the time of Innocent's letter, precedes the Canon. I cannot think it possible therefore that the above is his meaning.

3. The translation given above of the final clause of § 5—'so that by the mysteries themselves we may open the way for the prayers that are to come'—attributes to Innocent the preposterous argument, that the 'sacred mysteries' (that is the Canon), the solemn prayer of consecration, the terms of which he may not quote ('*quae aperire non debeo*' § 4), will, if his directions be followed, serve as a sort of prelude to some other prayers of which he has hitherto said nothing. It has to be added that of the intercessory prayers after the prayer of consecration, to which Innocent is thus made to allude, there is absolutely no trace in Western tradition.

4. Lastly, the expression 'futuris precibus', if the two words be construed together, is suspicious from the point of view of mere latinity. As 'futuris' has the position of a mere epithet, the natural rendering would be 'future prayers'; which, however, can hardly mean anything. But if the meaning intended be 'for the prayers that are to take place', the Latin is odd; for then we should expect 'futuris' to have some position of emphasis—such as '*viam precibus aperiamus futuris*', or at least '*precibus futuris*'.

I have not seen that the advocates of the interpretation from which we started have shewn any due realization of these difficulties. They may, however, retort that the two last of them equally attend any view of the general meaning of the passage. That is in part true. If the last clause be translated as it has (so far as I know) always been translated, I do not see how Pope Innocent is to be found consistent with himself, or how his closing words can have any other effect than that of contradicting and undoing what he has, up to this point, been striving to insist upon—viz. the necessity of preparing the way for the recital in the Canon of the names of the offerers by first commending with prayer their offerings to God.

But I believe that the current translation of the last clause is a mistaken one. It arose not unnaturally out of the collocation of the two words 'futuris precibus', which has given the impression that they belong together and are a pair of datives. The truth is, I am persuaded, that though 'futuris' is a dative, it agrees not with 'precibus' but with 'ipsis mysteriis'; while 'precibus' and not 'ipsis mysteriis' is the instrumental ablative; and what Innocent says is, not that by the mysteries we may open the way for prayers that follow; but something much less unexpected, namely, that by our prayers we may open the way for the mysteries themselves that are to follow. This is the sense that the whole tenor of the passage prepares us for, and the sense that must be adopted if the Latin will bear it. Let us have the second part of the section under our eyes: in order to beg no questions I keep the punctuation of Coustant-Schoenemann.

Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandae, ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum sunt, edicenda; ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur, non inter alia, quae ante praemittimus, ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus.

There are two possible ways of taking the second 'ut' clause ('ut ipsis', &c.).

i. It may be regarded as 'consecutive', or at any rate as depending upon 'Prius ergo . . . edicenda'. In this view it repeats the first 'ut' clause ('ut inter', &c.), stating a further consequence of commending the offerings before proclaiming the names of the offerers. Now the commendation of the offerings is made by a prayer ('prex', 'oratio') said by the priest for that specific purpose; and before that prayer no offering of the gifts has taken place ('cuius hostiam necdum Deo offeras'). This could not be said of the Canon or any part of it, as we have already seen; nor is 'commendare' the sort of word to express the purpose of the Canon. The prayer, therefore, by which the offerings are commended is one that precedes the Canon. That is sufficiently clear in any case from the argument: '*Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandae, ac tunc . . . nomina . . . indicenda; ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur*'. The first 'ut' clause, then, completes the following sequence: the presenting of the gifts by the people; their commendation to God by the priest's prayer; recital of the names of offerers *within* the Canon, not after or at the end of it.

If the second 'ut' clause merely resumes the first, it must represent the same sequence of events. But if 'futuris precibus' denotes prayers said at the end of the Canon, in such wise that the Canon prepares the way for them, then a new and unlooked-for element is introduced. In addition, the argument now ends with a *non sequitur*; for, that the Canon prepares the way for additional prayers is no conceivable

consequence of commending the offerings before the offerers' names have been read out in the Canon. But the consequence is valid if the 'preces' at the end are identical with the earlier 'prex-oratio', by which the gifts are commended, and if 'precibus' in the last clause is the instrumental ablative; for an earlier prayer of commendation will prepare the way for the Canon, with the recital of names in it: and that there should be this preparation is in fact the kernel of Innocent's whole contention.

ii. But there is another way of taking the clause, and one which, while it leads to the same result, appeals to me as superior in the context. This consists in taking the second 'ut' as dependent not, like the first, on 'Prius . . . indicenda' but on the immediately preceding 'quae ante praemittimus', and as introducing a purely final clause: that is, a clause stating the purpose for which those 'other things' are 'placed before'. The Latin will now be construed as it necessarily would be if there were an 'ideo' or an 'eo consilio' before 'ante praemittimus', thus: 'not in the course of those other things which (for this very reason) we place before in order that we may open the way', &c.

In favour of the first of these two constructions is the fact that it makes the argument end on a positive note, with a reassertion of the writer's main contention; while the second method makes it end with a mere negation. Nevertheless the second method seems to me to be preferable, and to be recommended especially by the choice of words 'ante praemittimus . . . ut . . . viam . . . aperiamus'. These expressions involve the metaphor (which I cannot but think must have been intended by the writer) of 'sending' on ahead to prepare the way. But unless 'ut . . . viam . . . aperiamus' depends on 'ante praemittimus' the metaphor is destroyed, and the wording which involves it will have to be explained as merely accidental. That does not appear to me probable. It is also to be noted that the first person plural, which appears for the first time in 'praemittimus', is carried on in 'aperiamus'.

If this second construction of the clause be adopted, there can be no further question as to what that is for which the way is opened: the 'things we place before' the mysteries can prepare the way only 'for the mysteries themselves that are to follow' ('ipsis mysteriis viam futuris'). But whichever way the clause is taken the result is the same: it is the mysteries (the Canon) for which the way is prepared, and not they that prepare the way for something else.

Were it not for the fact that the words 'futuris' and 'precibus' stand side by side, I imagine that no controversy could ever have arisen as to the liturgical import of the passage. It is the taking of these two words together in the same case that throws the whole meaning into confusion and doubt. Let us suppose that 'oratione' stood in the place of

'precibus': could any objection be taken to the latinity of 'ut ipsi mysteriis viam futuris oratione aperiamus', or could there be any doubt as to the meaning? But 'precibus' may as well be an ablative as 'oratione'.

I quite realize that this juxtaposing of a dative and an ablative plural is awkward, and liable to mislead. But it is to be remembered that to Innocent's correspondent it could not have brought any misunderstanding, since Decentius was thoroughly acquainted with the Roman practice referred to: 'Saepe dilectionem tuam ad urbem venisse, ac nobiscum in ecclesia convenisse, non dubium est, et quem morem vel in consecrandis mysteriis vel in ceteris agendis arcanis teneat cognovisse' (§ 3). And in fact we have to set one defect of composition over-against another; for the awkwardness of the like-ending dative and ablative is balanced on the other side by the weakness of 'futuris precibus' (as a pair of datives) to express the required sense 'for the prayers *that are to follow*'. It has already been said that if 'futuris' was intended to have this force it should properly have received some position of emphasis, whereas the place it holds is that of a simple epithet. The stylistic difficulty therefore is not all on one side; and it is preferable to admit a merely clumsy construction rather than one which, besides being grammatically weak, lands us in the perplexities and contradictions already explained.

I must now state in brief how I understand both the general drift of Pope Innocent's passage on the recital of the names, and the individual terms employed in it.

(1) The second half of § 5 I would translate thus:—

'The oblations, therefore, are to be commended first, and (only) then are the names of those whose they are to be proclaimed: so that they may be named in the course of the sacred mysteries—not in the course of those other things which we place before in order to open the way by (our) prayers for the mysteries themselves that are to follow'.

(2) Innocent is concerned neither with Intercession nor Diptychs (in the ordinary sense of a formal and fixed list of living and dead persons to be either prayed for or honoured), but merely and only with a list of the names of persons who happen to have made offerings at the Mass in course of being celebrated: a list, therefore, which would vary from day to day.

(3) What had been done at Gubbio was to read out the names of the offerers at a point in the service corresponding to that at which the recital of names of offerers¹ and of the dead is indicated in the

¹ The public recital of names of offerers in the West can be traced back to the beginning of the fourth century: cf. the Council of Elvira can. 29. St Jerome also

Gallican books, i. e. just before the Gallican *post nomina* prayer. Now the *post nomina* are essentially offertory prayers, and apart from their allusion to the names recited they answer closely to the Roman *super oblata* or 'secret', the prayer which immediately precedes the Canon.¹ The prayer, therefore, before which the offerers' names were read at Gubbio, and by which their offerings were commended, was one which corresponded to the Roman 'secret'. Was Innocent aware of this? There can be no sufficient reason to suppose that he was not. But then it is just this prayer that forms for him the fixed point in both uses, the point with reference to which he defines the proper place for the recital of the names: 'De nominibus vero recitandis, *antequam precem*² sacerdos faciat atque . . . oblationes . . . sua oratione commendet', &c. The 'prex-oratio' is for him the same prayer at Gubbio and at Rome; and if at Gubbio it was that which came to be called the *post*

alludes to it (*Com. in Ieremiam* lib. ii cap. 11, *P. L.* xxiv 784 D; and *Com. in Ezech.* lib. vi cap. 18, *P. L.* xxv 175 B, C). It may be doubted whether the Gallic recital of names of the dead at the same time is so ancient: Innocent makes no mention of it as part of the practice he condemns at Gubbio. Even in the Gallican books some of the *post nomina* prayers, whilst they refer to the recital of names of the offerers, make no mention of the dead: cf. in the *Missale Gothicum* the *post. nom.* forms for Epiphany ('Auditis nominibus ac desideriiis offerentium'), and for the Mass 'in initium quadragesimae' ('Offerentium nominibus recensitis'). A number of others make mention of the names of the offerers only, but go on to pray for the dead as well.

The origin of the reading out of the names of offerers in the West (as a practice quite separate in its implications from the Eastern Diptychs) may not unreasonably be traced to the importance attached in these regions, from early down to comparatively late times, to the offering by the people, the laity, of the matter for the Sacrifice, and the prominence thereby given to the idea that the people as well as the priest 'offer' the Sacrifice. The following passages may be consulted: Hippolytus *Apostolic Tradition* (Coptic version: in Horner *Statutes of the Apostles* p. 316); St Cyprian *de opere et elemos.* c. 15; Council of Elvira (c. 300) can. 28, 29; Ambrosiaster (*s. iv fin.*) *Quaest. vet. et nov. test.*, Quaest. 46; St Leo *Ep.* ix 2 (ad Diosc. Alex.); Felix II [III] *Ep.* xiii (A. D. 487-488); the Gregorian Canon ('et omnium circumadstantium . . . devotio, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis'). The idea is represented in many of the Roman 'secrets'. On the characteristic difference between East and West in the matter of 'Diptychs' see Edm. Bishop's section on 'The Diptychs' in his Appendix to *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*.

¹ Noteworthy is the following 'secret' in the *Leonianum* 'Offerentium tibi munera, quaesumus, Domine, ne delicta respicias sed intercessorum merita propitius intueri' (Feltoe, p. 14 l. 6).

² There is no evidence that in the fifth century 'prex' had become a technical term to denote exclusively the Canon, or indeed that it ever became so. Much improper use has been made of this supposed technical force of the word. If Innocent had been familiar with it he could hardly have failed to employ the word in § 4 of his letter, where he says that the kiss of peace is to be given at the end of the Canon: he uses instead 'mysteria', and the circumlocution 'omnia quae aperire non debeo'.

nomina, at Rome it was the *super oblata* or 'secret'. The names, he says, are not to be recited before but only after this prayer, and indeed some little way after it, within the Canon itself ('inter sacra mysteria').

This conclusion is confirmed by what is said by Innocent in regard to the 'prex-oratio': it is a prayer previous to which no offering of the gifts has been made by the celebrant, and is therefore not the Canon; and by it the gifts are 'commended' to God in their special aspect of offerings of the people.¹

(4) 'Mysteria' is in effect equivalent to the Canon as a whole: the 'arcana' of the Mass, the 'omnia quae aperire non debeo' (§ 4).

(5) The place in the Canon at which the names were recited at Rome may be assumed to have been in the neighbourhood of the *Memento vivorum*. There is nothing in Innocent's words that positively indicates this; but his insistence that the recital should come after the 'secret' suggests a point in the early part of the Canon, and no more probable place can be found: particularly if in Innocent's day the text went on (as it did already long before the year 700): 'et omnium circumadstantium . . . devotio, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis'.

(6) The 'preces' mentioned at the end of the passage are to be identified with the previous 'prex-oratio' (i. e. the 'secret'), at least in the sense that they cover it. There is no reason to press the plural as denoting several distinct prayers; it is satisfied by the general sense 'prayers', or even 'prayer'.²

As regards the assumption that the reading out of a list of 'offerers' at Rome connotes a Great Intercession and Diptychs of the living and the dead: it will be time to consider such an idea when some one has produced evidence that the Roman *Canon* ever contained a set of prayers for 'all sorts and conditions' such as we find in the Eastern

¹ The actual word 'commendare' comes fairly frequently in the 'secrets' of the Roman Sacramentaries. It usually occurs in a petition that the oblation may be commended by the prayers or merits of the Saints; but from the point of view of the people, the offerers of the oblation, it would be equally apt to describe the purpose of the priest's prayer in recommending their gift, as especially theirs, to God's favourable regard. Examples of the use of the verb may be found in Dr Feltoe's edition of the *Leonianum* at pp. 2 l. 16, 8 l. 29, 9 l. 21, 18 l. 11, 35 l. 14, 39 l. 18, 42 l. 17, 91 l. 29, 99 l. 25, 165 l. 29.

² The 'preces' represent the prayer element in the 'alia quae ante praemittimus'. It is worth noting that several Roman 'secrets' ask not only that the oblations but also the prayers ('preces') of the people may be accepted or commended: e. g. *Gelas.* ed. Wilson, p. 88 'Suscipe . . . preces . . . cum oblationibus'; p. 167 'Preces nostras . . . admitte, et . . . sacrificium beata Soteris commendet'; p. 181 'preces et hostias b. Petri ap. commendet oratio'.

rites, to which alone the liturgical term 'Intercession' is applicable; and when it has been shewn that the names of dead persons were ever at Rome recited in the ordinary public Mass. In regard to the particular interpretation of Pope Innocent's letter which makes him witness to the presence of an Intercession after the words of Institution, I will merely point to one historical consideration.

The pseudo-Ambrosian treatise *de Sacramentis* is nowadays very commonly regarded as being, if not actually contemporary with St Ambrose, at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century. I should not myself be prepared to place it so early, though I think it is certainly of the fifth century, and probably not later than the middle of the century. But Dr Drews and Dr Fortescue are both prepared, and apparently inclined, to accept the earlier date.¹ Next, it matters little for our purpose that the treatise was not written in Rome; for the author speaks of the Roman Church as that 'cuius typum in omnibus sequimur et formam' (iii 1 § 5). Nor does it matter very much if this statement be taken not quite literally in regard to the actual wording of the Canon quoted in the document; for in reality the long piece of text there given agrees so closely with the traditional Roman prayer that it must have been own brother to the Roman text of the fifth century; and where the two agree now they must have agreed then. The only alternative to this obvious conclusion would be that Rome at a later date (let us say in the fifth or sixth century) abandoned her old prayer of consecration and adopted, with some merely verbal changes, that of Milan (?): a supposition which has neither evidence nor probability to recommend it, and cannot be seriously entertained.

What the author of the *de Sacramentis* has to say that bears on the question of a Roman 'Intercession' is the following: 'Consecratio autem quibus verbis est et cuius sermonibus? Domini Iesu. Nam reliqua omnia, quae dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur: laudes Deo deferuntur (*or* laus Deo deferitur), oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris; ubi venit ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi' (iv 4 § 14).

'The liturgical sequence', says Dr Drews (p. 35), 'is here unmistakable: after the Preface and Sanctus (*laus Deo deferitur*) follows the Intercession, and later still the Consecration.'² 'We conclude', says Dr Fortescue (p. 133), 'that, whereas *de Sacramentis* places the

¹ Drews *op. cit.* pp. 35-36; Fortescue *op. cit.* pp. 128-129.

² To guard against misunderstanding I would here add that I am not satisfied that this prayer 'for the people, kings, and the rest' is to be placed within the Canon at all. But it is anyhow the only prayer of intercession of which the writer has anything to say, and it certainly took place earlier than the recital of Institution.

Intercession before the Consecration, Innocent places it afterwards.' Dr Fortescue leaves the matter there. Dr Drews goes on to remove the obstacle which the passage sets in the way of his own interpretation of Innocent and of his general thesis as to the dislocation of the Roman Canon. His way of doing this is simply to assert that the *de Sacramentis* represents a Milanese and not a Roman use, and that, to explain the agreement of the present Roman Canon with the *de Sacramentis*, 'we must suppose that finally Rome yielded to the widespread rite of Milan' (p. 39). This supposition will not appear so necessary to those who are not committed to the thesis of Dr Drews.

I venture to claim that the explanation of Innocent's passage offered in this Note is simple and coherent. Innocent supposes that the prayer over the oblations has been recited before the Canon; and the terms he uses in regard to it are readily applicable to the Roman 'secret', and to that only. In the second place, he refers the recital of the names to the Canon itself; and for this our present text (and still more the true Gregorian text) of the Canon provides a natural and obvious place in connexion with its Memento of the living and the prayer that follows. And thus the explanation offered may also claim to be 'traditional'.¹ There is but one objection that can be urged against it: the order of the words in the last clause. The special point which this paper is intended to emphasize is, that the mere order has caused an illusion as to the grammatical construction, and that the

¹ Not merely does it fall in with the traditional structure of the Roman Mass, it embodies also the traditional meaning of the Pope's words. 'The canons 50 and 51 of the great Council of Frankfort of 794 dealt with the practice of this period of transition. They read: (50) "Ut confecta sacra mysteria in missarum solemnibus omnes generaliter pacem ad invicem praebeant"; (51) "De non recitandis nominibus, antequam oblatio offeratur" (*M. G. Concil.* ii 171). These prescriptions go back on Nos. 53 and 54 of Charles's "Admonitio generalis" of 23 March 789, which however make their purport quite clear: (53) "In decretalibus Innocenti papae, ut pax detur ab omnibus, confectis Christi sacramentis"; (54) "Item eiusdem, ut nomina publice non recitentur ante precem sacerdotalem" (*M. G. Capit.* i 57). With the adoption of the Roman rite, some priests, and perhaps bishops also, continued to recite the "names" and to give the "pax" at their accustomed place in the Gallican mass, i. e. before the Canon. The object of the two canons of the Council of Frankfort was to secure that in quarters in which the Roman rite was adopted the "names" should be said and the "pax" given in their proper places, namely the "names" (of offerers) at an early point of the Canon, the "pax" immediately before the communion' (Edmund Bishop *Liturgical History* p. 101 note 1). This note was not written to illustrate Innocent's passage, but it does so in a very striking way. The Roman Mass at the end of the eighth century was, as we know, what it is now; and at the same date Innocent's words were understood as prescribing conformity with it.

clause can, and indeed must, be construed in such a way that it fits naturally into the writer's argument, instead of throwing the whole passage into confusion.¹

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ I feel the less diffidence in propounding this solution inasmuch as I have submitted it to two friends whose opinion on a question of Latin translation must command a respect not due to my own. The Dean of Wells, Dr Armitage Robinson, allows me to say that he too takes 'futuris' with 'ipsis mysteriis', and the last 'ut' clause as depending on 'alia quae ante praemittimus', translating thus: 'not among those things which we put before (the sacred mysteries) to open up by prayer the way for the mysteries themselves which are to follow'. Dom Andre Wilmart, who has kindly read the paper in a first draft and offered some valuable suggestions on it, also agrees with me on the essential point that 'futuris' is to be taken with 'mysteriis' and not with 'precibus'. He agrees also with the liturgical interpretation that I have given of the passage; but he inclines to give the last 'ut' clause a retrospective force, as stating the general result of commending the gifts before the Canon (by the 'secret') and reciting the names in the Canon (in connexion with the Memento of the living). He points out that Innocent observes the rhythmical *cursus* throughout, and that 'precibus aper(i)amus' is a regular *cursus tardus* if the 'i' be regarded as having a semi-consonantal value: an observation which suggests to me this further remark, that the rhythm of the last clause seems to be improved if we attach 'precibus' closely to the verb 'aperiamus' by making a mental pause before the final *cursus*, thus: 'ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris | precibus aperiamus'.

The latest writer to deal with the passage is Mgr Batiffol (*Leçons sur la Messe*: Paris, Lecoffre, 1919—the book was in circulation already in Nov. 1918), who devotes several pages to it (218 ff). Mgr Batiffol appreciates the difficulty of the last clause in relation to the rest: he thinks it resides in the word 'mysteriis', for which he suggests that we should read 'oblationibus'. To this word he gives the sense 'oblationum commendatione', meaning the *prayer* by which the oblations are commended. The rest of his interpretation implies the emendation. It is enough, therefore, to point out that earlier in the passage 'oblationes' twice denotes the material gifts, and could hardly have been employed again in the context with a new and unusual sense. The emendation is not likely, I think, to win acceptance.

THE OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS PERTAINING
TO MATTHEW.

Most of the quotations of the O.T. which are found in the Bible are evidently derived from a special source, a *Canon of Scripture*, as Stanton calls it.¹ The number of quotations taken from it is probably ten. So, for instance, Hawkins and Voss say that Allen gives twelve.

The chief reasons for assigning the ten generations are (a) the presence of a special introductory formula (ὁὐτος ὁ ἀρχὴ τῆς γενεᾆς) and

ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ
τότε ἐπληρώθη

(b) the obviously intrusive manner in which the quotations themselves, which in context, they are introduced into that of the LXX.

Allen adds Mt. ii 6 = Mic. v 2, and Mic. v 2 is true that both these passages are quite different. They have not the characteristic formula of the LXX. It appears to belong to the main source which is the LXX. However, his well-known liking for the LXX. It may be a consideration on the side of the LXX. A study of the manner in which the LXX. is used in the LXX. is a consideration on the side of the LXX.

A study of the manner in which the Gospel of Mark gives an interesting clue to the situation of the writer. The Gospel falls into two groups, and the two groups have different systems. In chs. 1, 2 the Gospel is arranged as to lead up to the statement of Mark is modified, which illustrates the situation of Mark, so that Mark's statement of Mark, Both classes have inferences that come to the

A. Passages in which

¹ Helpful studies of *Staphylococcus aureus* ed. 1, 123 ff; ed. 2, 124 ff; ed. 3, 125 ff; Wright, *Synopsis*, 342 ff; Wright, *Synopsis*, 342 ff.

Mt. iv 12-16 (Mk. i 14 f). The quotation is from Isa. ix 1 f. It is a sort of substitute for Mk.'s phrase *πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς*. But there are other modifications of Mk. Mt. wants to state the facts in such a way as to come as near as possible to the prophecy, and so he brings Jesus to Capernaum (*τὴν παραθαλασσίαν*), probably understanding that Isaiah's 'way of the sea' referred to Gennesaret. That Jesus did live at Capernaum seems certain, though Mk. does not directly state it. Mt. not only introduces *τὴν παραθαλασσίαν*, but also *ἐν ὄρεις Ζαβουλὼν καὶ Νεφθαλείμ*, in order to strengthen the application of the prophecy. In this case alone Mk. is not condensed, but rather expanded.

Mt. viii 14-17 (Mk. i 29-34). The quotation from Isa. liii 4 is appended to the story of the cure of Peter's wife's mother, and its sequel. Mk. is very much curtailed, partly to make room for the addition, but more, perhaps, because the incident is taken out of its chronological place, and given as one of Mt.'s set of ten specimen miracles.

Mt. xii 15-20 (Mk. iii 7-12). Mt. has already made use of the Marcan passage in Mt. iv 23-25. He now condenses a paragraph of about a hundred words into less than a third of its original size, so as to insert the rather long section from Isa. xlii 1-4.

Mt. xiii 34 f (Mk. iv 33 f). Ps. lxxviii 2 is quoted. Mt. slightly condenses Mk. iv 33, in order to make way for the quotation. He omits Mk. iv 34 b, because he is about to give a detailed example of private interpretation.

Mt. xxi 4 f (Mk. xi 1-5). Zech. ix 9 is quoted. Mk.'s narrative is condensed to make room for the quotation. Here the misunderstanding of the Hebrew presentation of the same idea in parallel phrases seems to have led to the duplication of the animals.

It may be stated with some confidence that the insertion of the five quotations here noted was made by the original composer of the Gospel. The method and considerable extent of the manipulation of the Marcan text are quite in line with what we find generally in the work of the author, and far exceed anything that one would expect in the case of a later interpolation.

B. Illustrative passages peculiar to Matthew.

Turning now to the other five quotations, we find that they are all connected with matter peculiar to Mt.'s Gospel; but they are not (apparently) conflated with this matter, at least in the same way as in the previous examples. In each case they form the climax of the narrative, which appears to be recorded mainly for the sake of the prophetic fulfilment which it illustrates.

In Mt. i 22 f the quotation from Isa. vii 14 refers to the Virgin Birth, and gives the point of the narrative of ch. i 18-25. The story of the

Birth at Bethlehem includes a quotation from Mic. v 1 (at Mt. ii 6), which is the centre of its interest, though not one of the ten. Mt. ii 15, reproducing Hos. xi 1, forms the motive of the story of the Return from Egypt. Mt. ii 17 f, from Jer. xxxi 15, closes the story of the Murdered Infants. Mt. ii 23, from Isa. xi 1, explains the mystery of the residence at Nazareth. Lastly, Mt. xxvii 9, from Zech. xi 13, is the motive of the story of the Thirty Pieces of Silver. This story is inserted at Mk. xv 2. In this case, Mk. is not curtailed in any way, and altered very little in phrasing. Mt. takes up the thread of Mk., at the close of the interpolation, exactly at the point where he had dropped it.

It would appear that Mt.'s Nativity stories come from some one source, but have been cast in their present form by the writer of the Gospel, with the help of his Catena of O.T. quotations.

We may, therefore, argue that the ten quotations under examination form a strong connecting link between the Nativity stories and the rest of the Gospel. It is probable (1) that the ten quotations, owing to their special features, belong to one source, (2) that they were all inserted at one time, and (3) that they were part of the work of the original author, since (a) the manipulation of Mk. is too drastic to assign to a later hand, and (b) the number *ten* precisely suits the author's usual method. We thus conclude that not only the ten quotations but *also* the Nativity stories belong to the original cast of the Gospel. The former point is not of much importance, except that it carries the latter with it.

T. STEPHENSON.

ANTE-NICENE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SAYINGS ON DIVORCE.

THE November number of *The Expositor* contains two articles complementary to one another. The one, entitled 'Re-writing St Matthew', dealt with the true meaning and translation of the Matthaean Sayings on Divorce¹; in the other, entitled 'The Earliest Interpretations of Our Lord's teaching on Divorce', Mr Harold Smith gave the Ante-Nicene interpretations of the same sayings and summed up as follows:—

'All these Fathers recognize misconduct as a ground for divorce. Origen alone is inclined to think that other grounds are not excluded. With the exception of Lactantius, however, and Clement in one place, they are not clear whether remarriage is allowable in this case.'

Mr Smith will not grudge my adding to the evidence he has so usefully collected, and will no doubt himself agree that his conclusion did not really do full justice to the complete state of the case. The passages to be considered are as follows:—

I. SHEPHERD OF HERMAS (c. A. D. 150) *Mand.* iv 1.

Question. Sir, if some one have a wife, who believes in the Lord, and he find her in some adultery (*ἐν μοιχείᾳ τινί*), does the husband sin by living with her?

Answer. As long as he does not know, he does not sin; but if the husband knows her sin, and the wife does not repent but remains in her fornication (*τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς*), and the husband lives with her, he becomes guilty of her sin and a sharer of her adultery (*μοιχείας*).

Question. What then should the husband do if the wife continues to give way to her passions (*ἐπιμένει τῷ πάθει τούτῳ*)?

Answer. Let him dismiss her and the husband remain by himself (*ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μένῃ*); if however, having dismissed his wife, he marry another, then he too commits adultery (*καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχᾶται*).

Question. If then, Sir, after the wife has been dismissed, the wife repents and wishes to return to her husband, has she not to be taken back?

Answer. Indeed she has (*καὶ μὴν*); if the husband will not take her back, he sins and draws upon himself a great sin; yea, the one that has sinned and is repentant must be taken back. However, not frequently, for unto the servants of God there is but one repentance.

¹ It suggests that *παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας* of Mt. v 32 should be translated, 'quite apart from the word *ervath*', thus making the Saviour set aside the whole rabbinical dispute about the meaning of *ervath* in Deuteronomy xxiv 1.

Because of repentance therefore the husband ought not to marry [again]. This behaviour is obligatory on wife and husband alike.

Let us study this passage for a moment.

It is the oldest commentary on the Matthaean Sayings, written within a century of the Gospel of St Matthew itself. It is not merely a scholarly opinion of an individual Father, it represents at least a large school of thought in the Church. The book in which it occurs was looked on by many as inspired or somehow comparable to the New Testament scriptures.

In the West it fell soon into oblivion, but in the East it was long used as spiritual reading for Catechumens. Even Origen thought it was written by the Companions of St Paul (Rom. xvi 14). In Cod. N it comes after the text of the New Testament. It is extant in Papyrus fragments. There are at least two Latin versions, the older being about A. D. 200. It was translated into Sahidic and Ethiopic. The book must have had an immense vogue and must have influenced Christian thought as well as have reflected it during the whole Ante-Nicene period. True, Tertullian, a Latin, as Montanist, scorns the work and tells us it was rejected by Catholics and Montanists; but the very violence of his language betrays the fact that, although not officially accepted as inspired, the book was made much of by his much hated 'Psychics'.

Now Hermas clearly takes it for granted that the husband or wife who has sent his or her partner away for misconduct must remain unmarried; if not, καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχᾶται: he too commits adultery. Remarrying after dismissal of the other partner is, according to him, ADULTERY.

It is true he attempts to make capital out of this for his theory that the repentant partner must be taken back. Of course, not ἐπὶ πολὺ, not an indefinite number of times, for τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ μετάνοιά ἐστιν μία, as the phrase then went. Tertullian was horrified at the laxity of Hermas dealing so gently with sinners, but he finds no fault with the statement ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ἀπολύσας τὴν γυναῖκα, ἑτέραν γαμήσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχᾶται. This apparently was the common opinion of the time. In fact Tertullian merely repeats the teaching of Hermas on this point: Christ forbids the dismissal of one's partner with the intention of remarrying, but He does not forbid dismissal in order to avoid cohabitation with a notorious wanton. Thus to condone notorious adultery would be to join the members of Christ to a harlot, as the Apostle said.

2. ST JUSTIN'S FIRST APOLOGY (c. A. D. 155).

In § 15 he gives specimens of Christian teaching on matters of sexual

morality and quotes Mt. v 28, 29, 32 or xix 9 and xix 12, but of Mt. v 32 he quotes only the words *ὅς γε αὐτὴν ἀπολελυμένην ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἀνδρὸς μοιχᾷται*. Now it seems unreasonable to suppose that some one who summed up the Christian marriage law in that one sentence was not really certain whether remarriage after divorce was allowable or not. Moreover in the same context he says *οἱ νόμῳ ἀνθρωπίνῳ διγαμίας ποιοῦμενοι ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ διδασκάλῳ εἰσὶ*, a statement which certainly represents second marriage (whether he meant after divorce or after the death of the first wife) as sin.

3. ATHENAGORAS *Legatio pro Christianis* § 33 (c. A.D. 177).

'Among Christians either one remains as one was born or one marries only once. for second marriage is only specious (*εὐπρεπής*) adultery. "He who dismisses his wife", says He [the Lord], "and marries another, commits adultery", neither allowing a man to dismiss her whose virginity he has taken away, nor yet to marry for a second time. For whosoever separates himself from his first wife, even though she be dead, is a somewhat disguised (*παρὰκαλυμμένος*) adulterer. He transgresses the precept of God, for in the beginning God created *one* man and *one* woman, and he breaks the union and bond of the flesh for sexual intercourse.'

Now this passage can hardly be set aside with the plea that it deals only with the Marcan text and not with the Matthaean. It deals with the notorious practice of Christians in a public document addressed to the heathen world. The writer is not a Montanist, for a Montanist would not have used such palliative expressions as *εὐπρεπής*, *παρὰκαλυμμένος*; he speaks for the sentiment of the bulk of Christians. He understood Christ's legislation on the subject as twofold: first, concerning the dismissal of the wife of one's youth, and second, concerning the union with another woman besides one's wife, whether that wife were alive or dead. The exceptional clause introduced in St Matthew could be omitted by the writer, because, according to him, whatever its meaning, it applied only to the first part of the legislation about the dismissal of the wife, not to the second regarding remarriage. According to him the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond was so absolute that, even though one of the partners were dead, sexual intercourse with another party was against God's plan in creation proclaimed by Christ in the Gospel. That the Christians of Athenagoras's time would allow a legitimate union with another party, while the first party was still alive, is directly excluded by Athenagoras's words. St Matthew clearly did not trouble them at all. 'Except for fornication' was a qualification attached to the lawfulness of the dismissal of one's partner, not of the union with a second partner. It is wrong to consider the early Christian aversion to second marriages as some unexplainable

oddity or merely exaggerated, unreasonable sentiment ; it is the outcome of the stress laid on Mt. v and xix, Mk. x and Luke xvi ; the marriage bond was so indissoluble that, even though one partner was dead, he still remained the legitimate husband (or wife) in the life beyond and the other party was still *married*. One man and one woman was God's plan in Nature restored by Christ. A quasi-everlasting relation was set up between the two partners, alive or dead. It is idle to plead that Athenagoras interprets the Marcan, not the Matthaean text ; he interprets the Gospel marriage law, and according to him it is plain that a union with another partner during the lifetime of the first is a crime against nature. His exegesis of Mt. xix 9 is not really doubtful at all.

4. TERTULLIAN *Ad Uxor.* i 5, ii 1 ; *De Pat.* xii ; *De Monogam. Adv. Marc.* iv 34.

Mr Smith says that 'Tertullian and Origen take opposite views on the question whether the Lord simply reaffirmed Deut. xxxiv 1, of which Tertullian adopts the stricter interpretation, Origen the laxer'. I suppose by 'the laxer' view must be meant the simple reaffirmation of Deuteronomy, as if the Christian marriage law was in no way stricter than the Jewish one. This seems to be an incorrect representation of Origen's views, which we shall discuss presently. In any case it is a little hard on that Father who, at the very end of the passage quoted, gives himself so much trouble to shew that Christ set aside the Mosaic legislation of Deut. xxiv as Origen understood it. Tertullian then is acknowledged to have held that the Christian marriage law was not a mere reaffirmation of the Jewish one, but something more stringent. Wherein—according to Tertullian—did this greater strictness consist ? Mr Smith does not tell us, but later on he counts Tertullian among those Fathers whose words are ambiguous 'on the crucial question of the remarriage of the innocent party'. Tertullian obviously admits divorce on account of adultery. In what then did this strictness consist ?

Tertullian left us a great deal on Christian marriage ; it is not really difficult to ascertain his meaning. He holds in common with his contemporaries that dismissal of one's partner is one thing, to break the marriage bond (*rumpere matrimonium*) is another thing. According to him and his fellow Catholics, even after lawful dismissal of a partner the couple remained husband and wife. He does not discuss the question of remarriage of the innocent party because, whatever happens, the parties are husband and wife. Asking whether the innocent party might remarry was to him whether the innocent party might have two wives or husbands. As a Montanist he went even so far as to maintain the persistence of this bond after death of one partner, and he claimed that this was not a new and strange but the 'antiqua et propria disciplina

Christianorum'. Passages, as those just quoted of Athenagoras, certainly gave colour to such a view.

On Patience ch. 12. 'Patience takes the lead in every species of salutary discipline. What wonder that she likewise ministers to Repentance (accustomed as Repentance is to come to the rescue of such as have fallen) when, on a disjunction of wedlock (*disiuncto matrimonio*)—for that cause I mean which makes it lawful, whether for husband or wife to persist in the perpetual observance of widowhood—she waits for, she yearns for, she persuades by her entreaties, Repentance in all who are one day to enter salvation!'

The *causa* of Mt. xix 9 is for Tertullian '*causa qua licet seu viro seu foeminae ad viduitatis perseverantiam sustineri*', i. e. it is ground for separation from bed and board, nothing more. He makes this clear as noonday by adding:

'How great a blessing she confers on each! *The one she prevents from becoming an adulterer; the other she amends*' (i. e. the innocent party is prevented from committing adultery; the guilty one brought to repentance).

On Monogamy §§ ix, x. 'Another reason too conspires . . . the reason which moved the will of God to prohibit divorce: the fact that he who shall have dismissed his wife, except on the ground of adultery, makes her commit adultery; and he who shall have married a woman dismissed by her husband of course commits adultery. A divorced woman cannot marry legitimately, and if she commits any such act without the name of marriage, does it not fall under the category of adultery in that adultery is crime during marriage (*in matrimonio*)? Such is God's verdict, within straiter limits than men's, that universally, whether through marriage or promiscuously, the admission of a second man [to intercourse] is pronounced adultery by Him.

'Therefore there is no reason in your saying [viz. the Catholic against the Montanist] that God does not will a divorced woman to be joined to another man WHILE HER HUSBAND LIVETH, as if He did will it WHEN HE IS DEAD; whereas if she is not bound to him when dead, no more is she when living. . . .

'They (the pagan Romans) indulge in promiscuous adulteries even without divorcing their partner; to us even if we do divorce them, even marriage will not be lawful.'

If a widow sent her husband before her to his rest 'in peace', 'in that case she must necessarily persevere in that peace with him, whom she will no longer have the power to divorce; not that she would, even if she had been able to divorce him, have been marriageable.'

Explaining 1 Cor. vii 27 he says:

'Such a woman is to be understood as has withal herself been found [by the faith] loosed from a husband, similarly as the husband loosed

from a wife—the loosing having taken place through death of course, not through divorce; inasmuch as to the divorced he (St Paul) would grant no permission to marry in the teeth of the primary precept.’

The passage *Against Marcion* iv 34, if rightly understood, says the same thing. ‘The other Gospel of the same Christ in which he clears up this very point’ is of course *not* the Gospel of St Matthew, for the quotation which follows is obviously based on St Mark. Mr Smith omits all this; there is a large lacuna between ‘this very point’ and ‘He made’ &c. The Gospel of St Matthew is first introduced later when Tertullian sees in the excepting clause and its identity with Deut. xxiv an additional conformity between the Law and Christ.

On Monogamy ch. vii. ‘The Law [of Moses] prohibits priests from marrying a second time. The daughter also of a priest it bids, if widowed or repudiated, if she have no seed, to return into her father’s home and be nourished from his bread. The reason why it is said: “If she have no seed” is not that, if she have, she may marry again, . . . but that, if she have, she may be nourished by her son rather than by her father. . . . Us moreover Jesus has made “priests to God His Father” according to John. . . . Priests we are withal called by Christ; debtors to monogamy, in accordance with the pristine Law of God, which prophesied at that time of us in its own priests.’ (See also *De Castitate* ch. viii.)

This line of argument tends surely to shew that a Christian woman, if widowed *or repudiated*, cannot marry again. Of course it is—as far as this quotation goes—possible that this was a special tenet of the Montanists, and that the Catholics allowed the repudiated woman to remarry as they certainly allowed the widowed one.

De Pudicitia ch. xvi. ‘St Paul [1 Cor. vii 10–12] while prohibiting divorce uses the Lord’s precept against adultery as an instrument for providing, in place of divorce, either perseverance in widowhood, or else a reconciliation of peace: inasmuch as “whoever shall have dismissed a wife except for adultery maketh her commit adultery, and he who marrieth one dismissed by a husband committeth adultery”.’

As *De Pudicitia* is a Montanist treatise the same remark as the above applies, but in a lesser degree, as Tertullian is not directly discussing this particular point with the Psychics at all, but rather seems to take it for granted and build his argument upon it.

The first book *Ad Uxorem* is devoted to the question of marriage after death of a first husband, the second book to the unlawfulness of marriage of Christians with heathens. As *Ad Uxorem* was written apparently before his Montanist period, he has not yet invented his peculiar way of evading 1 Cor. vii 39. Hence, though he vehemently dissuades remarriage after death of husband, still he reluctantly admits

that these second marriages are no sin. They are some kind of evil, but not a sin. The first book does not touch on remarriage after divorce, but the second book begins thus :

'Recently for your sake I entered at some length into the question what course is to be followed by a holy woman when her marriage has in whatever way been brought to an end (*quacunque sorte adempto*). Let us now turn [our] next advice in regard to human infirmity, admonished hereto by the examples of some who, when the occasion for continence was given by divorce or decease of the husband [*divortio vel mariti excessu oblata continentiae occasione*], have not only thrown away the opportunity of so great a good, but not even in marrying have chosen to be mindful of the rule that above all they marry in the Lord' (1 Cor. vii 39)

i. e. marry Christians not pagans. Such unions with pagans Tertullian held to be invalid, in fact mere *stupra*, and the book is devoted to meeting the objection : If Paul told his converts to *continue* in marriage with pagans, why should it be forbidden to *enter* into marriage with them? It contains no direct allusions to marriage after divorce, but perhaps the following may bear upon it.

'If he [in 1 Cor. vii 12-13] had made an absolute pronouncement about a man, who was Christian BEFORE his wedding, he would have permitted to the faithful promiscuous marriage [*permiserat sanctis vulgo nubere*]! But had he allowed that, he would never have subjoined to his permission such a different and contrary pronouncement as "a woman is free when her husband is dead, let her marry whom she wishes, only, in the Lord".'

A little further down in answer to the query : If we are defiled by a pagan, why is not a man to separate from his partner in the first case, just as he is free in the second case (i. e. when the pagan departs, let him depart)? he says :

'First I bring forward that the Lord holds it more proper (*magis ratum*) that matrimony should not be contracted than that it should be totally dissolved [or be dissolved at all, *quam omnino dissolvi*], and then (*denique*) : He prohibits divorce except for fornication (*nisi stupri causa*) but commends continence. Hence in the first case the man is obliged to continue in marriage, in the second he is at liberty to remain unmarried [*habet . . . non nubendi potestatem*].'

This seems to mean, he has the chance of leading a life of continence, which he had not, while tied to his wife.

5. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA *Stromateis* III vi 50.

Mr Smith quotes this passage as a defence of the remarriage of the innocent party. This surely is a misunderstanding. Clement does nothing of the kind. The Gnostics, who held marriage to be an evil *in se*, had collected all N. T. texts favouring their views. Clement

follows them in their perverse ingenuity, going from text to text ; thus he had finally to come to their distortion of Mt. xix 11-12. Here indeed he can be brief. He argues as follows : Christ reject marriage ? Why, read the context ; it is not a question of the lawfulness of MARRIAGE, it is a question of *divorce*. Every word presupposes that MARRIAGE is allowable. The immediately preceding sentence presupposes it ; it was a question whether after the conviction and expulsion of an adulterous wife Christ would allow a man to marry another ! The passage is not merely irrelevant to the Gnostic position ; it actually contains Christ's sanction of MARRIAGE in His condemnation of *divorce*. Clement is not concerned with the precise exegesis of Mt. xix 11-12 ; it overthrows Gnosticism, that is all. In chapter vii, however, he *does* interpret the passage, and that in the way in which it is ordinarily understood, viz. that it may be a good and praiseworthy thing to abstain from marriage for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.

'We therefore embrace continency because of our love towards our Lord, and because it is a praiseworthy thing, sanctifying the temple of the Spirit. For it is a praiseworthy thing to castrate oneself because of the kingdom of heaven from every concupiscence and to purify our conscience of dead works to serve the living God. But those who wish to be delivered from conjugal intercourse and from the taking of suitable food because of the hatred they conceive against their own flesh, are foolish and wicked and practising continence without reason as many people do, such as the Brahmins' &c.

6. ORIGEN *Comm. in Mattheum* I xiv 16.

Origen's conviction, so far from being in any way lax in this matter, is as strict and as plain as can be desired.

'But just as a woman is an adulteress even though she may seem to be married to a husband, when the first husband is still alive, so also a man, seemingly marrying a woman divorced, does not marry, but rather commits adultery according to the statement of the Saviour.'

These words immediately follow the quotations of Origen given by Mr Harold Smith, and it does seem a pity that he ceased to quote precisely where he did, as this seems the most vital passage of all. When Origen suggests the possible lawfulness of grounds of divorce, such as witchcraft and murder, he goes out of his way to guard against the very misunderstanding into which apparently Mr Smith has fallen. Origen means by divorce separation from bed and board. Whatever may constitute a just reason for the dismissal of one's wife, the fact remains that the pretended remarriage of such a woman, whether dismissed on sufficient grounds or not, is adultery.

Origen, however, knows that some leaders of his time had let things

pass which could not be allowed according to the letter of the law, and he shews his embarrassment by a lame excuse for their conduct.

'But then against what stands written even some leaders of the Church allowed things to pass so as to let a woman marry during the lifetime of the husband, acting against what stands written in 1 Cor. vii 39 and Rom. vii 3. However not altogether perhaps without reason, for probably they yielded in the matter of such unions to avoid greater evil against what is laid down as law from the beginning and against what stands written.'

This passage seems only to emphasize Origen's conviction; there is no other possible excuse for such leaders of the Church but that in their eyes there were moral excesses even worse than such unions, and that possibly silence might be guiltless, where speech would cause greater sin. However the fact remained; it was against the Primeval Law, it was against the Scriptures.

7. LACTANTIUS *Institutions* vi 23.

The quotation given by Mr Smith need only mean that a man can commit adultery in two ways: by interfering with another man's wife and by forsaking his own for another. To put away his wife for a reason of revenge, anger, shrinking from the trouble of the household, and so on, is indeed a crime, but it is not *adultery* except it be done in order to marry another. To put away your wife to marry another is a wide expression for remarriage after divorce. It is of course possible that a man should dismiss his wife for a grave reason, but without the intention of marrying another, and only subsequently decide on seeking another partner. However the *onus probandi* that Lactantius excepted such a case from the charge of adultery lies on the person who makes that statement. Tertullian uses the same phraseology and certainly did not mean this. Moreover Lactantius had such strict views on marriage that it is not likely. He severely censures the existing Roman law in these words:

'It is not as the Public Law will have it: only the woman commits adultery if she live with another, but the husband even though he live with several is absolved from the crime of adultery. But the Divine Law so joins both with equal rights in matrimony, that is to say into one body, that whosoever tears asunder this organic unity (*compagem corporis*) commits adultery' (*Div. Inst.* vi c. 23 n. 24).

8. COUNCIL OF ELVIRA, May 15, c. A.D. 300.

After having decreed the ultimate penalty, i.e. excommunication till death, for women who had left their husbands WITHOUT CAUSE and had married others, the Fathers continue in canon 9:

'A baptized woman, who has left an adulterous husband and is marrying another, let her be forbidden to do so; but if she has already

married him, let her be excommunicate until the husband whom she left is dead, except in her own danger of death when the excommunication may be removed.'

In other words, the innocent party cannot marry again; if the innocent party attempts to do so (the Civil Law of course allowed it), she remains excommunicate during the lifetime of the first husband. However as her crime is less wanton than that mentioned in the previous canon, she need not die excommunicate; she may be readmitted to the Church on her deathbed.

9. COUNCIL OF ARLES, A. D. 314.

'De his qui coniuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles et prohibentur nubere, placuit ut in quantum possit consilium eis detur, ne viventibus uxoribus suis, licet adulteris, alias accipiant.'

'With regard to those who discover their wives in adultery, and who, though in early manhood, are as Christians forbidden to remarry, it has seemed good [to this Council] that as far as possible they should be advised during the lifetime of their wives, though adulteresses, not to marry others.'

Whereas Elvira a few years before dealt with the—no doubt more pressing, because more frequent—case of adultery of the husband, Arles deals with the adultery of the wife. Arles moreover deals with cases of extreme hardship. The unfortunate husbands are *adolescentes fideles*, Christians in early manhood and yet *prohibentur nubere*. Such advice after the proven crime of the wife to the youthful husbands to submit to lifelong celibacy cannot always have been an easy matter for the clergy, nor, we may be sure, was it always meekly received by the *adolescentes fideles*. Such second unions were of course permitted by the existing laws of the empire, and their prohibition must have seemed a patent absurdity to the pagan society of A. D. 314. The decrees of Arles practically had Constantine's official sanction; this, as well as the extreme delicacy of the case, may well account for the *in quantum fieri possit*. The Council urges the principle but provides no penalty if it is not carried out. The clerical advice here intended is, one would think, not mere counsel as opposed to precept, but a statement of the principle that those husbands, as *fideles*, *prohibentur nubere*, and that they are bound to their partners as *uxoribus licet adulteris*. It is remarkable that at this first quasi-general synod of the Church the case should at once have been dealt with in the acutest form of ensuing hardship and the unpleasant duty of giving such advice be imposed on the clergy even *in quantum possit*. Unfortunately we do not possess the very wording of the canon itself, but only the

summary, which the bishops attached to the report they sent to Pope Sylvester.

10. DIDASCALIA ch. xiv.

'If you place a young woman in the ranks of the widows and she does not maintain her widowhood because of her youth, she will take a husband and bring disgrace upon the glory of widowhood. She will give account to God, first, for having had two husbands, and next, for having promised to God to be a widow and as widow having taken [a husband? widows' pension?] and not having remained in widowhood. If there be a young woman, who was for a short time with her husband and he died, or if for any other reason [there be separation] and she remain alone by herself, being in the honour of widowhood, she will be blessed by God . . . (as the widow of Zareptha and Anna the Prophetess). Let not then young widows be appointed to the office of widows, but let them be taken care of and helped lest by reason of their indigence they seek to take a husband a second time and this act be an unseemly one. For this you should know that she who has had one husband, has had him lawfully, and beyond this it is fornication. Therefore take by the hand those who are young that they may remain in chastity to God.'

Cf. *Const. Ap.* iii 2, especially

αἱ δὲ νεώτεραι χῆραι εἰς χηρικὸν μὲν μὴ ἐντασσέσθωσαν . . . ἐπικουρεῖσθωσαν δὲ καὶ βοηθείσθωσαν ἵνα μὴ προφάσει τοῦ λείπεσθαι ἐπὶ δευτερογαμίαν ἐλθοῦσαι ἐν πράγματι ἀπρεπεῖ ἐνσχεσθῶσιν καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ εἶδέναι ὀφείλετε ὅτι μονογαμία μὲν κατὰ νόμον γινομένη . . . τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ . . . πορνεία.

The above seems to be the original text. Codd. Sangerm. and Cantab. have the additional words 'and two' after 'has had him lawfully'. If they are original, one does not quite understand (i) why the young widow, who remarries, is said to have to give an account to God, first, for having had two husbands, (ii) why the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* should have gone through his elaborate process of remodelling this passage so as to say that the remarrying 'Church-widow' sins only against her vow, not against the marriage law, and should have added the lengthy note in favour of remarriage of young widows. In this particular instance Cod. Harris seems to have the better text. Whether it also has the better reading in giving 'which she receives and there be no separation' instead of 'there be separation' must remain doubtful. Some allusion to receiving the widows' pension, a grant from the Church funds which the author much emphasizes, is quite possible, but the alternative *death* of husband or *separation* from him seems unmistakable.

11. APOSTOLIC CANONS.

Canon 48. 'If a layman after having dismissed his wife marries

another, or if he marries a woman dismissed by another, let him be excommunicate.'

Although this collection, as such, dates c. A.D. 350, it is thought by some to contain Ante-Nicene material. Hence we have added it here. For the same reason reference may be made to Victor of Antioch (c. A.D. 400) on Mark :

Εἰ καὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ διαιρεῖται ἄνδρός, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συζεύξει ἀδιαίρετός ἐστιν. διὰ τοῦτο μοιχείαν ἐκάλεσε τὸ συζεύγνυσθαι πρὸς ἄλλην ζώσης ἐκείνης. καὶ ἐπὶ γυναικὸς δὲ τὸ ἴσον.

To sum up.

Before Nicaea there is no evidence that the Christian Church interpreted the clause *excepta fornicationis causa* as authorizing the breaking of the marriage bond itself, in the sense that the partners ceased to be husband and wife and that at least the innocent party might remarry. All the evidence there is, and it is considerable, points the other way.

J. P. ARENDZEN.

WAS THE RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE WRITTEN FOR ST. MELANIA THE YOUNGER?

THE commonly accepted opinion is that St Augustine wrote his Rule for the community of nuns governed by his sister at Hippo. Dom. Besse, O.S.B., is giving this opinion when he writes 'Il y avait à Hippone une de ces communautés de femmes, que gouvernait sa propre sœur. Elles étaient de sa part l'objet d'une constante sollicitude. C'est pour elle qu'il écrivit, en 423, sa fameuse lettre considérée depuis lors comme une règle'. Epist. ccxi *P.L.* t. 'xxxiii, col. 960-965. (*Dict. Théol.* Paris 1903 i 2472).

The origin of this Rule and the uncertainty about the text and date of this famous letter dispense us from any attempt to establish its accepted authenticity. We may, however, remark:

(a) The letter seems to be divided into two parts. Part I (ending *Petri pastoris*) deals with a movement against the *praeposita* or superior of the convent. Part II (beginning *Haec sunt ut observetis praecipimus*) is the official Rule of St Augustine.

(b) The nuns to whom the first part of the letter was written could hardly have lived at Hippo. If they lived in the same town as St Augustine, it is not likely that he would try to quell a disturbance amongst them by writing them a letter. The preacher-bishop was not unaccustomed to deal with local difficulties by word of mouth.

(c) There seems a curious contradiction between Part I and Part II of the letter. Part I seems to suggest that the cause of the trouble was the appointment of a new *praepositus* or priest-superior. And St Augustine suggests that, rather than rid themselves of their old *praeposita*, or sister-superior, they should rid themselves of their new *praepositus*.

But Part II in contrasting the *praeposita* with the *praepositus* exalts the latter: 'Praepositae tamquam matri obediatur . . . multo magis presbytero' ('Obey your sister-superior as a mother . . . but much more your priest-superior').

(d) If the community who received the fatherly admonition forming the first part of the letter was the community at Tagaste over which St Melania for some time acted as sister-superior, then (1) some of the references in the letter become more pointed and some facts more intelligible. The monastery has greatly increased ('numero crevistis').

This great increase has been due to the Sister-superior ('sub illa estis eruditae; sub illa velatae; sub illa multiplicatae'). (2) A reason is given why St Augustine living at Hippo should write to nuns living at Tagaste. (3) We are not at a loss to know why St Melania finally left for Egypt about 417.

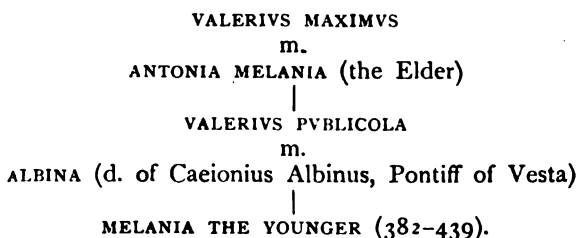
Yet, on the other hand, it may be difficult to see how St Melania could be said to 'have been many years' in their midst ('praeposita, qua in monasterio illo per tam multos annos perseverante').

(c) If the first part of the letter has, as we believe, no organic unity with the second part, that is if we may look on Part I as a private letter and Part II as a definite Rule, we are at liberty to discuss the origin of the Rule on its own merits.

PROOFS THAT ST AUGUSTINE PROBABLY WROTE HIS RULE FOR
ST MELANIA THE YOUNGER.

We have said 'probably wrote' &c. In matters where evidence is so lacking it would be wrong to claim certainty.

(i) The genealogy of Melania is as follows:



The chronology of Melania is as follows:

- 383. Melania the Younger born in Rome.
- 397. Marries Valerius Severius Pinianus.
- 402. Melania the Elder leaves Jerusalem and comes to Rome.
- 403. Melania the Elder in Africa with St Augustine.
Melania the Younger wishes to become poor.
- 404. Publicola, her father, dies. Melania the younger undertakes an ascetic life.
- 405. Palladius and Cassian stay with Melania the Younger in Rome.

Melania the Elder dies.

- 408. Pinian and Melania leave Rome; in Africa with St Augustine.
- 409. Melania founds monasteries for men and women at Tagaste.
- 417. Pinian and Melania leave Tagaste for Egypt and Palestine.
- 418. Melania writes to St Augustine about Pelagius.

St Augustine replies by 'De Gratia Christi et Peccato Originali'.

431. Albina, mother of Melania, dies. Melania founds a monastery in Jerusalem.

432. Pinian, husband of Melania, dies. Melania founds a monastery of men on Mount Olivet.

436. Melania visits her uncle Volusianus at Constantinople; stays with Lausus.

437. Melania dies.

(ii) The Rule of St Augustine was primarily written for women. This fact is generally accepted.

(iii) The fact that the Rule was written for women would naturally lead to the question, 'What women were of such interest to St Augustine that, having written no rule for his fellow-monks, he should write a Rule for these nuns?'

What group of women present the features of the group drawn by St Augustine in his Rule?

(iv) The group of women drawn by St Augustine included some who had given up great riches. To the group of poorer sisters the saint gives the counsel '*Nec erigant cervicem quia sociantur eis ad quas foris accedere non audebant*' ('Let them, i. e. the poorer sisters, not be puffed up because they associate with *those whom, in the world, they would not have dared to approach*'). This is an expression of extreme emphasis.

It would hardly have been applicable to any group of women living either at Tagaste or Hippo under the charge of St Augustine's sister. The family circle of the saint belonged to the professional class. The saint himself was but a teacher of rhetoric. It would certainly be rhetoric of a superlative kind, nowhere else found in the Rule, if the poorer sisters were represented as a class *that would not have dared to approach* either the saint's sister or any other women in Africa.

But the poorer classes of Africa would literally not have dared to approach the noble patrician woman Melania, who, later on, was to draw the Empress Eudoxia on a pilgrimage from Constantinople to Jerusalem.

(v) Not only does the monastery, described by the Rule, include some rich, noble women whom the poorer sisters would not have dared to approach; but these rich women by their very alms have made it possible for the poorer sisters to dwell in the monastery. '*Illae quae aliquid esse videbantur in saeculo, non habeant fastidio sorores suas, quae ad illam sanctam societatem ex paupertate venerunt. Magis autem studeant non de parentum divitum dignitate, sed de pauperum sororum societate gloriari. Nec extollantur si communi vitae de suis facultatibus aliquid contulerunt; nec de suis divitiis magis superbiant, quia eas in monasterio partiuntur quam si eis in saeculo fruerentur. Alia quippe quaecumque iniquitas in malis operibus exercetur ut fiant;*

superbia vero etiam bonis operibus insidiatur ut pereant. Et quid prodest dispergere dando pauperibus et pauper fieri, si anima misera superior efficiatur contemnendo quam fuerat possidendo?’ (‘Those who held a certain position in the world must beware of despising those among their sisters who may have come from a poor state to his holy sisterhood. They should seek to glory in the companionship of their poor sisters more than in the rank of their rich parents. Nor ought they vainly to exult if they have contributed anything out of their abundance to the support of the community; thus taking heed not to be more proud of their riches because they have been divided in the monastery than they were when they enjoyed them in the world. For this is the peculiar feature of pride, that whereas every other kind of wickedness is exercised in the accomplishment of bad deeds, pride creeps stealthily in and destroys even good deeds. And what, think you, does it profit one to give all her goods in alms to the poor and to become poor herself, if her wretched soul becomes more proud by despising riches than by possessing them?’)

There seems slender ground for attributing this state of riches and poverty to the nuns under the rule of St Augustine’s sister. But it would be the very atmosphere of the monastery ruled by Melania at Tagaste. This city was the centre of her vast African estates. ‘Melania and Pinian settled at Tagaste, a town of less traffic than Carthage or Hippo. There they built and endowed with ample revenues two large monasteries, one for 130 nuns, the other for 80 monks; and Melania became not only the cedar in whose branches sparrows nested, but she herself became a sparrow. The monks and nuns were drawn from her enfranchised slaves of yesterday’ (*Sainte Melanie*. Georges Goyau, 1908, p. 113).

(vi) The Rule of St Augustine supposes amongst the nuns a literary activity which has few parallels in contemporary monasticism. ‘Sive autem quae cellario, sive quae vestibis, sive quae codicibus praeponuntur sine murmure serviant sororibus suis. Codices certa hora *singulis diebus* petantur; extra hora quae petiverint non accipiant’ (‘Those who have charge of the store-room, wardrobe, or books should willingly place themselves at the service of their sisters. Books should be applied for at an appointed hour *each day*, out of which time none should obtain them’).

There must have been a keen appreciation of books in a community of nuns where the library was open every day, and the librarian was commanded to serve her sisters without grumbling.

Whilst we have no means of knowing whether this atmosphere of book-learning was present in the monastery governed by St Augustine’s sister, we have authentic knowledge of its presence in the monastery

ruled by St Melania. Her biographer says 'Le règlement de vie qu'elle s'était donné l'amenait à lire, d'un bout à l'autre, un nombre déterminé de pages. Soit des écrivains sacrés, soit de leurs commentateurs, elle se faisait dicter ces pages par une nonne, et, d'avance, en connaissait si bien le texte qu'elle rectifiât, à la minute, la moindre erreur de lecture. Elle recherchait les œuvres d'exégèse, les écrits des saints ; elle s'évertuait à les assimiler de façon à n'en rien ignorer ; elle les transcrivait afin de mieux les connaître' (*ibid.* p. 168).

(vii) Goyau, in speaking of the monastery which St Melania founded in Jerusalem 431, makes a series of contrasts between the Saint's mode of action and the Rule of St Augustine.

(a) He recalls the first discourse of St Melania to her nuns: 'I will not let you want for anything ; *keep yourselves from dealing with men*' ; and parallels it with the words of the Rule. 'Oculi vestri . . . figantur in neminem . . . Nec dicatis vos habere animos pudicos, si habeatis oculos impudicos' ('Let your eyes be fixed . . . on no man. Say not that your minds are pure if you have impure glances').

(b) St Melania's word of self-abasement, 'I will wait upon you in everything as your servant,' recalls 'Ipsa quae vobis praeest non se existimet potestate dominante, sed charitate serviente, felicem' ('Your Superior should not take pleasure in ruling you but in serving you with all charity').

(c) In her wise and gentle treatment of those who had led a life of luxury, Goyau sees a reminiscence of St Augustine's words, 'Quae infirmæ sunt ex pristina consuetudine si aliter tractantur in victu, non debet aliis molestum esse nec iniustum videri, quas fecit alia consuetudo fortiores' ('If some who are weak from former habits are treated differently in matters of meat and drink, this must not breed any feeling of discontent, nor be considered unjust to those whom habit has made stronger' ; *ibid.* pp. 159, 160).

(d) A more striking relation between the practice of St Melania and the Rule of St Augustine is thus described by Goyau : 'Soucieuse de mettre ses religieuses à proximité de Dieu, Mélanie fit élever dans le monastère même un petit oratoire privé, comme il en existait en Afrique dans les communautés des vierges par saint Augustin' (*ibid.* p. 165). Goyau has overlooked or has not emphasized the fact that this custom of having an oratory in the monastery itself is part of the Rule of St Augustine : 'In ORATORIO nemo aliquid agat nisi ad quod est factum, unde et nomen accepit'. ('In the Oratory let no one do anything except the one thing for which it is made, and from which its name is derived').

(viii) But perhaps the most striking identification between St Melania's rule and the Rule of St Augustine is the fact that from Lausus, the

prefect of Constantinople, St Melania obtained *money to build a bath in her monastery of nuns.*

(a) Cardinal Rampolla writes 'Contrary to the practice of the other monasteries of her time, she was careful that the religious over whom she ruled should have an abundant supply of fresh water. She even went so far as to provide a bath ; to procure which she had recourse to a rich Roman patrician living at Constantinople, probably Lausus, formerly prefect of the palace under Arcadius' (*Life of St Melania*, London 1908, p. 213).

It need hardly be mentioned that it was for this Lausus that Palladius (whom we have seen in the house of Melania in Rome) wrote his famous history of the Christian hermits and monks called *The Lausiack History.*

(b) The moderation of St Melania the younger may be measured by the following anecdote of her grandmother, the elder Melania, which is recorded by Palladius in his *Lausiack History* : 'It happened by chance that I and they' (i.e. the Elder Melania and her company) 'once travelled together from Aelia to Egypt, and we were accompanying on our journey the gentle virgin Sylvania, the sister of Rufinus, a man of consular rank. Jovinianus was also with us. Now he was at that time a deacon ; but subsequently he became bishop in the Church of God of the city of Askalon. He was a God-fearing man and was exceedingly well versed in doctrine. And it came to pass that a fierce and fiery heat overtook us on the way ; and we came into Pelusium that we might rest therein. And Jovinianus, who is worthy of admiration, came by chance upon a trough for washing. And he began to wash his hands and his feet in a little water that by means of the coolness thereof he might refresh himself after the intensity of the blazing heat. Then having washed himself he threw on the ground a sheep-skin whereon he might rest from the labour of the journey.

'And behold, the mighty one among women stood up over him like a wise mother, and in her simplicity rebuked him with her word, saying, "Seeing that thou art still in the heat of youth, how canst thou have confidence that by means of carefulness on thy part thou wilt be able to resist the natural heat of the constitution of the body which still burneth in thy members? And dost thou not perceive the injurious effects which will be produced in thee by this washing? Believe me, O my son, for I am this day a woman of sixty years old from the time I took upon myself this garb. Water hath never touched more of my body than the tips of the fingers of my hand ; and I have never washed my feet or my face or any one of my members. And although I have fallen into many sicknesses and have been urged by the physicians, I have never consented nor submitted myself to the habit of applying

water to any part of my body' (*Paradisus of Palladius*, tr. by Walter Budge, London 1907 ; i pp. 159-160).

(c) Perhaps this heroic if not wholly wise attitude towards baths was part of St Jerome's dominant influence over the Elder Melania. Fr H. Dumaine says 'C'était . . . à saint Jérôme . . . qu'il appartenait, avant tout autre, d'encourager cette pratique d'ascèse. Mains passages de ses lettres en témoignent : le bain est pour lui un déplorable excitant à la mollesse' [*Dict. Arch. Chrét.*—Bains, p. 90]. St Jerome singles out for praise St Melania the Elder and St Paula in this matter of abstaining from baths.

(d) Indeed, in speaking of Paula the Elder who had founded one monastery for men and another for women at Bethlehem, St Jerome says : 'Balneas nisi periclitans non adiit' ('No one goes to the baths without danger'). Again, speaking of the nuns whom Paula gathered round her in the monastery at Bethlehem, St Jerome says : 'Unus omnium habitus. Linteamine ad tergendas solum manus utebantur . . . Si vidisset (Paula) aliquem comptiorem . . . dicens Munditiam corporis atque vestitus animae esse immunditiam' ('All the sisters were clothed alike. Linen was used only for drying the hands. . . . If she (Paula) saw any of them attentive to her dress . . . she would say, "A clean body and clean clothes mean an unclean soul"' [Epist. cviii]).

(e) All this must be contrasted with the wise Rule of St Augustine, 'Lavacrum etiam corporum, ususque balneorum non sit assiduus ; sed eo quo solet intervallo temporis tribuatur, hoc est, semel in mense. Cuius autem infirmitatis necessitas cogit lavandum corpus, non longius differatur ; fiat sine murmure de consilio medici, ita ut etiam si nolit, iubente praeposito faciat quod faciendum est pro salute' ('Bodily washing and the use of the baths should not be too frequent ; but should be accorded at the stated intervals, that is, once a month. When any ailment necessitates a bodily washing, it should not be put off longer. Let it be done without murmuring by the advice of the doctor ; so that even if it is not desired that may be done by command of the superior which ought to be done for the health of the body').

This wise asceticism of the Rule of St Augustine is all the more remarkable because even a century later the Rule of St Benedict says, 'Balnearum usus infirmis quotiens expedit offeratur ; sanis autem, et maxime iuvenibus tardius concedatur' ('Let the use of the baths be granted to the sick as often as needed ; but to the hale and especially to the young it should be rarely allowed').

(f) It is therefore significant that St Melania the Younger chose not to live in the monastery of St Paula at Bethlehem, nor yet in the monastery of her grandmother the Elder Melania on Mount Olivet, but

built a new monastery on the same mountain. From the first the monastery of the younger Melania was easily distinguishable from the other monasteries in Bethlehem and Jerusalem by the comparative mildness of its rule.

(g) This mildness of St Melania the Younger in her monastic rule is all the more striking because it stands so violently contrasted with her extraordinary personal asceticism of life. All her biographers are at pains to point out that in her practices of mortification she not only equalled but outstripped the great champions of the desert.

It is therefore surely remarkable that this woman, so rude and almost cruel to herself, should depart from the tradition of her own kindred in the matter of her rule ; and especially in this matter of the baths which was occupying so much attention in the letters of St Jerome. If in this we see her turning aside from the almost intemperate heroism of St Jerome to the wise moderation of St Augustine, we have no misgivings that history will point out a *Non Possumus*. Indeed, St Melania's example will thus appear as the first victory of that Rule which has made St Augustine, even in these days, the Patriarch of Western Religious Life.

VINCENT McNABB, O.P.

A LOST SELAH, AND PSALM LXXXV 9 [8].

DR W. EMERY BARNES suggests that where SELAH occurs, there usually Massorah or Midrash has been at work.¹ SELAH may be taken as the earliest and simplest form of note which was attached to the Hebrew text.² It is quite of general significance, a *Nota Bene*, simply calling attention to the context in which it is embedded.³ It is found in not less than five classes of passages. 'A good instance of a verse which challenges by its contents Midrashic treatment is [Psalm] ii 2 'The rulers take counsel together' . . . Midrash must ask why is *another* so closely associated with the Holy one? The answer can be supplied from a Midrashic comment on a different passage. It is because every one who riseth up against Israel is as if he rose up against the Holy one, &c. (Mehilta, ed. Friedmann on Exod. xv 7). Another similar passage is iv 5, 6 [4, 5] 'Commune . . . and be silent, SELAH, offer the sacrifices of righteousness'. Here the Midrash runs 'What is meant by *Be silent* SELAH? R. Judah said: Provided thou cease from transgression which thou hast in hand. And if thou behavest thus—what is written next, *offer the sacrifices of righteousness*. This means, &c.' (Midrash Tehillim, ed. S. Buber, p. 46).⁴

A most difficult verse in Ps. lxxxv 9 [8] could be easily explained if Dr Barnes's theory is accepted. The difficult part of the verse in question for which no satisfactory explanation or emendation has yet been found is its last three words

וְאֵל יִשׁוּבוּ לְבַסְלָהּ

A.V. and R.V. render it 'But let them not turn again to folly'. Dr Kirkpatrick 'unto self-confidence'. But, as Dr Briggs⁵ rightly points out, these words make a sentence which is not only difficult Hebrew syntax, but also interrupts the easy flow of thought characteristic of this Psalm. The LXX καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν καρδίαν, and V. *et in eos qui convertuntur ad cor* suggest to him the emendation

וְאֵלֵי שְׁבִי לְבָס לָהּ

This reading, however, not only (a) re-groups the letters and changes a כ into a ב, but (b) also assumes that in the present Hebrew text the scribe has changed a מ into a ב, and, in addition (c) joined two words

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xviii p. 265.

² *Ibid.* p. 266.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 272.

⁵ I. C. C. Psalms vol. ii p. 233.

(לכם לה) which were clearly and plainly separated by a final consonant (ם).

I suggest that if we divide the last word לכסלה into לָב, סָלָה we shall obtain a reading

וְאֵלֵי שָׁבִי לָב, סָלָה

which is as good as the one suggested in I. C. C. and also removes the difficulties (b) and (c). Dr Barnes's theory then proves most valuable here also, for a very appropriate Midrash would throw light on this SELAH. The verse runs:

'He will speak peace

וְאֵל עַמּוֹ = to his people

וְאֵל חַסִּידָיו = and to his saints

וְאֵלֵי שָׁבִי לָב = and to those that *return* with [all] their heart,
i. e. the PENITENTS.

We have here three degrees: (i) People, (ii) Saints, (iii) Penitents. It is obvious that (ii) is higher than (i). The reader would, therefore, expect (iii) to be higher even than (ii). But how could it be said that the sinner who repented was on a higher spiritual level than the saint who never sinned? SELAH, therefore, is added, *sic!* So it is. The Talmud¹ definitely declares in the name of R. Abahu:

במקום שבְּעָלֵי תְּשׁוּבָה עוֹמְדִין

אֵין צְדִיקִים נְמוּרִים עוֹמְדִין וְכוּ'

'The spiritual level attained by the Penitents is not accessible to the *wholly Righteous*,² as it is written, &c.' This Midrash asserts that the sinner who has been the victim of temptations, and after having been the prey of evil habits which have become with him *altera natura*, abandons his wicked ways and returns to the path of righteousness—is considered superior to the wholly righteous who has never experienced the temporary pleasures of sin or has perhaps never been tossed on the waves of temptation. The order, therefore, (i) People, (ii) Saints, and (iii) Penitents is quite correct, being an *ascending* order of spiritual values. SELAH warns us not to change this order and calls attention to the quoted Midrash.

Another possible reading I would suggest is וְאֵלֵי שָׁבִי לָהּ, סָלָה (those that return to thee, SELAH). This does not affect the Midrash, but involves a change of the person. It has, however, the advantage of avoiding the change of any of the letters of לכסלה.

ISRAEL W. SLOTKI.

¹ Talmud Babli, *Beraḥoth*, fol. 34 b.

² The Syriac, it is interesting to note, translates וְאֵלֵי שָׁבִי as וְאֵלֵי שָׁבִי (Ps. lxxxv 8).

THE DATE AND PLACE OF WRITING OF THE SLAVONIC ENOCH.

THEOLOGICAL students do not often read astronomical journals, but if any one interested in apocalyptic literature will turn to *The Observatory* for August, 1918, he will find on pp. 309-316, sandwiched between the report of a paper on the green flash of the setting sun and an article on the new star in Aquila, a brilliant little paper by Mrs Maunder entitled, *The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch*. After a little merriment at the flimsy evidence on which Dr Charles has assigned this work to an Egyptian Jew of the first century of our era, and the difficulty of supposing that a Greek work so widely current as Dr Charles imagines, though it survived to be translated into Bulgarian between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, should have disappeared altogether in its Greek form, Mrs Maunder goes on to examine the astronomy of this work. She has no difficulty in shewing that, while it ignores the Jewish calendar, it regards as of divine origin the Julian calendar and the Christian Easter calendar, including lunar epacts which we first meet in the third century A. D. and the 532 years cycle which is not found elsewhere till the fifth century. I may note in passing that April and November seem each to be given one day more, May and December one day less, than their due, but this does not appear seriously to impair Mrs Maunder's argument. Dr Charles had supposed that the reference to the 532 years cycle was one of a number of late interpolations. Mrs Maunder holds that it is easier to believe in a late author. She proceeds to examine Bulgarian literature and calls attention to the 'Historiated Bibles' which characterized the Bogomils. That the present work is Bogomilian is, she maintains, proved by the presence of the legend of Satanail. Her final conclusion is therefore that the book is not an Egyptian Jewish work written in Hebrew in the first century of our era, but a Bogomil work written in Bulgarian between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

REVIEWS

Psychological Principles, by JAMES WARD, Sc.D., LL.D., &c. (Cambridge University Press, 1918.)

It would appear from the preface to this treatise that it embodies in final form, save a fraction still to be awaited, the results of its author's study and research in psychology which have engaged him for more than thrice as many years as were devoted to the production of his two series of Gifford Lectures, *Naturalism and Agnosticism* and *The Realm of Ends*. It need imply no comparison with those works as to value, nor any under-estimation of the high place they take in recent philosophical literature concerning Theism, therefore, to call Dr Ward's *Psychological Principles* his *magnum opus*. He is then to be congratulated the more heartily upon its completion. His greater life-task, to deal with psychology according to the plan originally laid down and afterwards expanded, is, however, not yet wholly fulfilled. In the book just given to the world, he tells us, there are still gaps; and to fill these up would have involved reconstruction for which, when he undertook to prepare it for publication, his 'day was too far spent'. The realization of the greater of human purposes is at best rather asymptotic than complete; but we may rejoice that Prof. Ward entertains the hope of achieving another stage in the accomplishment of his full aim by treating in a supplementary work of the Relations of Body and Mind, and Comparative Psychology.

The student of psychology also is to be congratulated on the appearance of Prof. Ward's new book. For the article in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* upon which it is founded, is not easily accessible, and at times has not been procurable in the form of a separate reprint; while in the volume now before us it appears revised, brought up to date, and—what is more—very considerably enlarged. And there are perhaps few authorities who will not ungrudgingly account it the most valuable treatise on his subject that the student of psychology can have upon his shelves. The opinion of a mere tyro as to its place in psychological literature, especially if he take pride in once having been a pupil of its author, is indeed without weight. But the same cannot be said of the judgement of the late Prof. Bain, whose views on some questions, by the way, were opposed to those maintained by Prof. Ward; and he pronounced the Encyclopaedia Article to be 'entitled to a place among the masterpieces of the philosophy of the human mind'. Nor perhaps does it require long steeping of the mind in the details and subtleties of

psychological science to enable one to appreciate the fact that, besides revealing a wonderfully thorough knowledge of the literature of his subject, Prof. Ward brought to bear upon its problems a new method and fresh insight, enabling him to solve many of them which before had proved intractable, and to convict of inadequacy doctrines which had passed as sound.

On the many innovations which Prof. Ward has introduced, or—as one would prefer to say—of the many contributions which his work has rendered to psychology, such as his doctrine of the presentational continuum, his genetic theory of our knowledge of perceptual space, his discovery of the limits and the preconditions of association, his elucidation of the processes involved in perception and the evolution of the free idea, this is not the place to enlarge. But there is one general and outstanding characteristic of his book about which a word may be said. I refer to his immoveably steadfast adherence to the psychological standpoint—in terms of which, indeed, he defines ‘psychology’. One has only to read the works of many other eminent psychologists, such as Wundt, James, and Münsterberg, not to speak of a multitude of lesser lights active in America and elsewhere, to understand the significance and the value of this attitude. It rules out at once from the sphere of psychology proper, so much quasi-psychology served up in its stead in works on physiological, experimental, and ‘new’ psychology, in the presuppositions of ‘neo-realists’, and even in treatises on the theory of value. It is to bestow no mean praise on Prof. Ward’s book to say of it, as did a reviewer of the Article of which it is an outgrowth, that it ‘has the rare merit of being psychology, and nothing but psychology’. When psychology passes into metaphysics, it ceases to be psychology; and a work professing to treat of psychology has no concern with the philosophical and metaphysical problems to which psychology inevitably leads up. It may at times be tantalizing to a reader whose interest in the metaphysical side of a given topic may outstrip his interest in its purely psychological aspect, to be brought, when that aspect is exhausted, to a final full stop; especially by a writer as to whose philosophical views on the point he cannot but feel wholesome curiosity. But this is inevitable in the case of a book characterized by singleness of aim and unity of purpose. Indeed a limitation of a more intrinsic nature than this is imposed upon the author. ‘I never contemplated more than an exposition of psychology *as a whole*’, he tells us: ‘merely subsidiary details, however interesting, were beyond my purview’. Accordingly there are several subjects with which psychology is directly concerned, not to speak of fields of what might be called ‘applied psychology’, as to which little or no information will be found in this work. *Psychological Principles* is concerned only with the fundamental

problems which are raised by an attempt at an ultimate analysis of the distinctive functions of the mind. It is essentially a book for the serious student; and so condensed are its matter and exposition that not all parts of it are easy reading even for him. To such students, however, it is indispensable.

From what has been said as to the nature of this standard treatise, it will be evident that any criticism of its contents such as could be of service either to its author or his instructed reader would require a master in the subject. No such thing could be expected of one for whom psychological study has been but a propaedeutic to philosophical theology. But in bringing the book before the notice of fellow-students of the latter science, one may point out that on many questions with which theologians are intimately concerned, resort to Prof. Ward's pages will be profitable. This is true, certainly, in the case of such topics as, e.g. the self and its 'substantiality', individuality and personality; instinct, heredity, character; immediacy; subconsciousness; belief, certainty, faith; value, motive, choice, freedom. If only for self-protection against literature in which these and other subjects are discussed without the necessary grounding in relevant psychological knowledge, it behoves the theological student to consult the best authorities.

Less directly, though no less really, the whole book—or at least the greater part of it—will repay the study of those theologians who have felt it incumbent on them to face the various 'winds of doctrine' which during the last few decades have issued from philosophy and swept the field of theology; for some at least of them have psychological presuppositions. Not because Prof. Ward enters into controversy with the psychology of Bergson, the neo-realist, &c.; he does not. Indeed, at first one is inclined to doubt whether adequate notice is taken, in the bringing up to date of the *Encyclopaedia* Article by the new work, of the volume of water that has flowed under the bridge since the Article was written or revised. But on second thoughts one realizes that the author of *Psychological Principles* scarcely needed to notice points of detail, as to which psychology is relevant, in these philosophical tendencies; he is justified in taking the attitude 'What I have written, I have written'. The importance of what he had already said consists partly in its containing the refutation in advance of tenets which have since been made explicit. And it shews how firmly and deliberately his foundations were first laid, and how comprehensively, before writing, he had come to regard psychology as a whole as well as in its details, that he has found so little need to undo or to rebuild, in the light of others' work or criticism, what he constructed at the outset.

The concluding chapters of the book, which are new, are among the

most interesting from the point of view of the general reader and the student of theology. They contain discussions of the psychology of intellection, of relations, of the forms of intuition and the categories of the understanding, of belief and its causes, of knowledge of the self and subjective being. Chapter xvi deals with the psychology of value, and epitomizes the results of recent investigations in this somewhat new field. Prof. Ward gives an account of the development of the affective and conative side of mind, and of value-movements, similar in the main to that supplied, at greater length and with less intelligibility, by Urban ; but he rejects, as one would be led by his earlier chapters to expect, the hybrid conceptions of emotional logic, affective generalization, &c., which vitiate Urban's masterly book : these savour of presentationism.

In the last two chapters we are led from general psychology—the psychology of individual minds in general—to that of the concrete individual with his uniqueness of character and idiosyncrasy. Here the question of heredity is discussed with originality. The pure subject—the heir as distinct from his inheritance—it is argued, is not continuous with the subjects of the individual parents : traducianism is materialistic and involves psychological solecisms, denying (how, might have been more fully indicated) the individuality of the experient and the duality of experience. What is continuous, after the manner of the continuity between the parent and filial cells, and at the same time conditions the subject, is his *Anlage*, which from the point of view of psychology is his initial 'presentational continuum', and which, I presume, means here his body *as it is for him*. Mind, for Prof. Ward, includes its (psychological) objects, as well as the subject and his subjective states and activities ; and its objective side alone is inheritable and determined by the bioplasm, or, more remotely, by ancestral experience. These chapters contain another contribution to the science of psychology.

Moral Values and the Idea of God, by W. R. SORLEY, Litt.D., LL.D., &c. (Cambridge University Press, 1918.)

IN publishing these lectures Prof. Sorley has made a valuable contribution to the important literature evoked by the Gifford Trust. Other Gifford Lecturers may have traversed much of the ground which this volume covers, and some of the topics with which it deals are well-worn themes ; but it nevertheless has an individuality of its own. In the first place it presents a moral and metaphysical argument for Theism which is not quite identical with previous arguments of like

intent. It differs also from similar works in that it is partly devoted to the exposition of a theory of value—one should rather say, of ethical value—such as moral arguments presuppose. And lastly, it contains the author's reflexions on various questions of philosophical and theological interest. Some of these have not often been discussed before in works on philosophy of religion; others, such as the classic 'Proofs' of the existence of God, pluralism, and pantheism, as to which it is not easy to say anything new, are treated with freshness.

In the opening lecture the author shews that it is impossible to derive ethics from metaphysics, to extract 'ought' from 'is'; but, like Lotze, he suggests that in what ought to be may be found the ground of what is. Some will regard this as one of the most interesting lectures in the volume. Certainly it is important for its bearing on the argument later to be developed; for it points out that for the interpretation of an organic whole, such as the world, every part of it, and particularly the moral realm, must be taken into account at the outset.

The second and several succeeding lectures deal with the theory of value; but the limitations as to space which are imposed upon the writer unfortunately deprive him here of opportunity for that thoroughness of treatment which the reader would have welcomed. Thus, when mentioning some of the various ways in which values have been distinguished or classified, Prof. Sorley ignores that which seems to be of profoundest significance for the whole science of ethics—the distinction between the 'sub-personal' values pertaining to the things of the bodily self, the personal (intrinsic values of the character-features of the individual regarded as an end for himself, and in isolation from society) and the over-individual or impersonal values, i. e. values for the person as playing the rôle of impartial spectator and representing the attitude of the 'social mind'. Psychology traces continuity of development from the first to the last of these levels of valuation, and shews that 'objectivity', as predicated of values of the first class, cannot mean the same thing as when predicated of values of the other classes. Further, reflexion discovers that the ideals correlated with these three levels are, in certain actual situations, incompatibilities for the will. And this is important when personal and social worths are concerned: for there is no *a priori* standard, or rule, of preference for the one rather than the other incompatible. Such facts dispose one to distrust some of the leading terms and concepts of objective ethics when they are used as if they certainly possessed one unequivocal meaning throughout the whole range of a science professedly dealing at once with personal intrinsic worths and over-individual moral ends, to which these intrinsic worths are but instrumental. They create suspicion that ethics does not possess that homogeneity with which

most ethical treatises endow it, or any single, all-embracing, absolute moral ideal : that there are really three (or, if Prof. Sorley were justified in excluding values of the sub-personal level from values altogether, two) sciences of human volitional conduct. And to these one more must be added if sin, as distinct from moral imperfection, imply reference to yet another and entirely different standpoint, viz. that which psychologists have named the 'psychical'.

Prof. Sorley avows that it is his purpose to leave psychological questions aside, and confines himself to axiology.¹ But it is perhaps a question whether a philosophy of value *can* cut itself off from the psychology of value without error being incurred in the resulting axiology, especially in the form of hypostatized logical abstractions and of principles whose unconditionality is acquired at the cost of practical meaninglessness. There are limits, it seems to me, to the independence of axiology ; and it may well be in consequence of an overstepping of those limits that ethics, abstracting too thoroughly from the actuality in which it takes its rise, can profess to speak of *a* moral ideal, to conceive of it as somehow and somewhere 'existing', to claim to have established principles valid independently of *all* valuing subjects, and to use terms such as 'objectivity' as if they possessed, throughout the whole range of the different levels of valuation and ideal construction, one univocal meaning.

One lecture is devoted to the discussion of the burning question, what value is, or what 'value' means. Some five different answers have been given to this question. Value has been said to be (1) a subjective state, such as feeling or desire, (2) a functional relation between the subject valuing and the object valued, constituted in part by the affective-volitional dispositions and cognitional presuppositions of the subject or society of subjects, (3) a relation between objects—as, e. g. when beauty is said to be an arrangement of forms and colours, (4) a tertiary quality of the object, (5) an ultimate, simple, indefinable property, denotable by the predicate 'ought to be', and inherent in objects independently not only of being perceived, but of human affectiveness and conation. When contemplating moral value, Prof. Sorley embraces the last of these views, though he does not agree with Dr Moore in regarding value as predicable of the non-existent ; but when contemplating aesthetic value he appears to commit himself to the second of the foregoing answers. If I do not misunderstand him here (p. 119)—but only in that case—it is pertinent to remark that

¹ Axiology bears to the psychology of valuation a relation corresponding to that between epistemology and the psychology of cognition. Like epistemology, it proceeds from the universal, or over-individual, standpoint, and abstracts from the individual experience which over-individual thought presupposes.

there cannot be one answer for moral, and another for aesthetic, values. Further, the second of the theories enumerated above is not at all disposed of by a refutation of the first, such as Prof. Sorley undoubtedly accomplishes. He claims to have refuted the second, indeed, along with the first; but only, as it seems to me, by treating feeling and conation, for the moment, as if they were modes of cognition. However, the main outcome of the earlier lectures, that there are moral ideals which are objective and moral judgements that are valid, would not be affected if, for the view that value is inherent in things, we substituted the view that it is, in accordance with certain laws, projected by us into them; and this is alone of importance for the constructive argument of the chapters which follow.

Lecture VII deals with the principle of the conservation of values. Persistence of values in time is distinguished from their 'eternal' validity, and, it is pointed out, implies perpetuation of personal lives because persons are the sole 'bearers' of intrinsic worth. Prof. Sorley does not enter into the relation of this principle to that of human immortality, as other recent Gifford Lecturers have done; nor would discussion of the question be likely to prove profitable. For the conservation of value (which is consistent with transformation of values) requires only perpetuation of the series of persons, not the persistence of this or that individual person; unless indeed each individual's unique contribution to the sum of the valuable could be shewn to be necessary for the realization of the perfection of the Absolute or of the purpose of God—a supposition which implies the Christian conception of the Fatherhood of God. The more promising enquiry as to the relation of the principle of conservation of value to the teachings of science concerning the physical order is, however, taken up in this lecture; and Prof. Sorley shews that if the principle in question be true, the extinction of the world including man, which science prophesies, cannot be the last word on the whole matter. Indeed the assumption that the physical world is a closed system, is but a working-hypothesis for the departmental procedure of science, and not—as Mr Russell, who should know better, has recently reasserted—an established truth which any philosophy that can hope to stand must perforce accept.

In the next succeeding lecture Prof. Sorley outlines the theory of knowledge to which he is committed, and in this respect, as in several others, considerably renders his reader a service which too many writers on philosophical theology provokingly withhold. Here I am too much in agreement to offer criticism; save that when he argues in favour of our direct knowledge of the self, I am unable to gather with certainty that he does not maintain our 'acquaintance' knowledge of the pure ego, or the self *qua* subject, rather than our 'knowledge

about' it, mediately derived. If the former be the view he takes, in common with Mr Russell (tentatively) and Dr McTaggart, I find myself much more strongly impelled to take the other side, advocated by Prof. Ward; for in other cases of immediate 'acquaintance', as e.g. with sense-particulars (I repudiate Mr Russell's contention that we know any universals, any more than physical objects, by 'acquaintance'), it is precisely the 'what' or the 'quale' that is given; whereas that is precisely what, in our knowledge of the subject in us, is not presented. The supplementary note appended to this lecture is of first-rate importance and value.

We now begin to be presented with the constructive argument of the book, which may briefly be outlined. Ethical ideas are operative on the world, and ethical principles are valid of free persons, and therefore, so far, of the world-order. A synoptical view of the world, as contrasted with a mere analysis and re-synthesis such as is necessarily inadequate to the understanding or interpretation of an organic whole, must therefore embrace the realm of morality as well as the physical order. The philosopher's right to seek an *interpretation* of the world is justified as no mere craving for satisfaction or wish to 'feel at home', but as a demand for rational satisfaction based on knowledge of reality itself. The fact that reality includes values as well as existents, a moral as well as a causal cosmic order, enables us to ask—and to answer—'why?' as well as 'how?' The theories in which Theism finds its real rivals, viz. naturalism, pantheism, and pluralism, fail to account for the reality of the moral realm and for its coexistence within one universe with the realm of natural law. Morality indeed can be used as a touchstone to distinguish the adequate synopsis from the inadequate; and its application involves rejection of the rivals. Theism alone survives the ordeal; and, granted that (1) the world has a purpose (which, it is argued, Nature itself suggests or implies) and (2) that human freedom or self-determination is a fact (which, again, is convincingly maintained against current objections), it offers—and alone offers—a satisfactory reconciliation of the cosmic order (with its *prima facie* indifference or hostility to human ethical ideals) and the moral order: an explanation of the world as a whole, and of the existence of evil within it. For the world is interpreted by Theism as a theatre for the realization of moral values, and the existence of evil as, not a means to, but rather a *conditio sine qua non* of, that realization.

This argument seems to me more solid and satisfactory than any moral argument for Theism with which I am acquainted, though one particular strand in it has recently been constructed by Prof. Pringle-Pattison out of even tougher fibre, or at least out of more abundant fibre. The latter writer puts the emphasis on man being 'organic to'

the universe—the universe which pessimists regard as so alien and diabolically hostile to man; whereas Prof. Sorley, while not ignoring this highly significant fact, rather reposes on the validity of man's moral judgements. Both of these recent Gifford Lecturers supplement their more empirically motived arguments by another, in the construction of which Dr Rashdall led the way—an argument directly from the 'absoluteness' of morality to the existence of God. This—fortunately superfluous—addition seems, however, to involve the ontological fallacy, which Prof. Pringle-Pattison stands alone in regarding as not fallacy but truth.

Evolution and the Doctrine of the Trinity, by S. A. McDOWALL, B.D.
(Cambridge University Press, 1918.)

THEOLOGICAL works on speculative theology are not so common in this country that we can afford to withhold our attention from one when it appears. And Mr McDowall's book deserves to be widely read, not merely because it will serve to provoke criticism and so stimulate thought, but also because it deals with abstruse problems with boldness and some originality. It treats of many topics with freshness; and if it is in some places obscure, it is almost everywhere attractive. Its author displays an unusual capacity for origination of ideas. But it is a thousand pities that so able a writer should have hastened to attack some of the most difficult of problems before undertaking the drudgery of disciplined study in philosophy and psychology, and without bringing himself into subjection to the rules of clear and logical thought. For though this book is more mature than his earlier writings, it is not free from their defects. Mr McDowall still troubles himself altogether too little about the exact connotations of terms, and so is often unconsciously the slave rather than the master of words. He still uses very ambiguous expressions where, for purposes of argument, one precise and univocal meaning is essential; so that logic is often replaced by verbal conjuring. Some of his favourite words are highly figurative abstract nouns, the concrete signification of which it is hard to guess.

Transcendence and immanence are discussed in several chapters of this book. Hitherto those terms have been used with reference only to the activity-relation of God to the world. Mr McDowall, however, applies them to the being, and also to the knowledge, both of God and of man. 'Transcendence', in fact, is used as including the 'transcendental', and the 'immanent' becomes largely identical with what is known *sub*

specie temporis. Thus diverse matters are apparently correlated, some of which have little real relation to one another. The distinction between God as transcendent and God as immanent becomes in these pages a dualism of modes and 'regions' of experience such as seems to call for two subjects in God; and in spite of Mr McDowall's repudiation of any such meaning, it is not made clear how this consequence is avoided, or how limited and unlimited knowledge, timeless and temporal being, are to be combined in one Experient. His treatment of these difficult matters, indeed, seems to me confused and confusing. God as transcendent is said to be without attributes (p. 47—for a reason which implies that what God is in Himself depends upon the way in which we get our 'transcendent' knowledge, whatever that may be, of Him!); yet a substance without attributes is acknowledged to be an empty form. In that case, how can God be asserted to be knowable apart from His attributes? If, on the other hand, as is suggested, God's attributes are constituted by our subjectivity, what is the reality of which attributes are the appearance; and how can the attributes be said (p. 13) to be 'the expression of [God's] Real and Eternal Being'? Further, it is quite arbitrary to refuse the title of attribute to God's love, and to assign love rather to the divine 'nature'; for what is a 'nature' as distinguished from attributes? Again, God as transcendent is described as timeless being; but we find Mr McDowall's conception of timelessness to be vacillating. Sometimes divine transcendence is coupled with words expressive of temporal relations (e.g. p. 21, where God is said to be 'perpetually' creative, and p. 32, where transcendence is identified with unchanging 'permanence'), and human transcendence (p. 191) is expressly equated with 'perduring'. This is, however, a lapse from the general intention to regard the timeless as simultaneity without duration. But we are hopelessly baffled when we are told (p. 174) that simultaneity does *not* mean 'all-at-once-ness'; for to every one other than Mr McDowall the word means nothing but that. In any case an 'eternal present' is but a figure of speech; and there can be no absolute 'now', unrelated to other 'nows'.

But to pass to the author's main theme—the doctrine of the Trinity. The theological issue here is really plain, in spite of the immense literature which has served little purpose beyond obscuring it. Either in the Trinity there are three subjects and agents between whom eternal relations subsist, in which case we are to take the popular phrase 'social God' to imply a divine society as the world-ground; or else there is one subject with eternal relations to Himself or to the world regarded as eternal, in which case the Christian conception of God as triune is as modalistic as any Unitarian could wish, and the doctrine of the Trinity possesses no value, philosophical or religious. We can

only conceive of two modes of being: the substantival and the adjectival or relational. We can conceive of none between them. All efforts in that direction—and they have been many—are necessarily futile. Mr McDowall does but add one more to their number. Eternal love can only be a relation between eternal subjects; it cannot be a relation between modes or relations. And relations are no nearer to 'persons' for being personified. Modes which are *also* 'persons'—in any meaningful sense—are but monstrous creations of the imagination; and we may as well relegate them to the realm of inscrutable 'mystery' first as last. Mr McDowall describes the relation of Father to Son as that of 'I' and 'Thou'; but if 'Thou' is here to have the implication which the pronoun suggests, surely in turn the relation of Son to Father is that of 'I' to 'Thou'; and similarly with the relation of the Spirit to each of the other Persons. Such arbitrary verbal devices do not help us to an understanding. Nor does the fact that our experience is ultimately resolvable into three functionings, each of which is irreducible to, though inseparable from, the others; viz. cognition, affectiveness, and conation. No purpose is fulfilled by speaking of a man as a trinity, or by seeking to interpret Father, Son, and Spirit in terms of a psychological analysis of experience. Will is not identical with, or exhausted in, fatherhood, as Mr McDowall's analogy would seem to imply; nor can the 'Personalities' of the divine Persons be associated with differences of 'emphasis' (p. 137); especially if the psychological analysis just now referred to be our guide to an interpretation of the triune being of God.

But the misleading or meaningless analogies and identifications of things that differ, which the reader will encounter in Mr McDowall's argumentation, are too numerous to be discussed in detail. As he has resorted—like St Augustine—to psychological analogy, it is strange that he should, with apparent deliberateness, have abstained from study of the science of psychology. His book suffers greatly in consequence. He has much to say about memory and emotion, but he has not troubled to find out what those words mean. Thus (p. 143) he confounds memory with subconscious retentiveness, and defines it (p. 201) as 'potential ideas': whereas the essence of memory is re-presentation, as image, of a past event *qua* past and *qua* experienced by the experi-ent. Emotion is defined (p. 215) as 'a tendency to act consciously in a certain manner for a certain reason that is consonant with the character of the person'; and (p. 146) our Lord's 'memory of transcendent experience' is said not to be precluded as impossible 'on the ground that it was not perceived in the ordinary sense, but was rather allied to emotion'. The errors in these statements are of course, in the language of the schoolboy, 'howlers' of the maximum magnitude; and

they vitiate the contexts in which they occur. The discussions of mystical immediacy, and of 'penetrability'—where, by the way, sympathy is confounded with knowledge, and intuitive insight with imaginative construction—also suffer from faulty psychology. It is a pity, I would repeat once more, that ability to originate, or freshly to combine, ideas, should have incapacitated itself so severely, through unwillingness to be schooled to accurate thinking, to render service to speculative theology.

F. R. TENNANT.

The Philosophy of Plotinus: The Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews, 1917-1918. By W. R. INGE, C.V.O., D.D. 2 vols. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.)

THESE volumes give us the interpretation or reinterpretation of a system which itself embraced the whole intellectual thought of antiquity. For seventeen years, the author tells us, he has steeped himself in the writings of Plotinus, and has studied him 'as a disciple, though not an uncritical one'. We thus have here not a dead system, but an exposition made with sympathetic insight, as well as with all the equipment of scholarship. It seeks to determine not only the place of Plotinus in history, but also his value for us in the twentieth century, and to estimate his real contribution to the never-ending debate about truth and reality.

This is, however, a scheme that may be interpreted variously. Plotinus had a reasoned-out metaphysical system. Do its principles appear to commend themselves at the present day? This is hardly the author's view. His aim is rather to bring out Plotinus's message for us, and to develop speculations which he handles only as a pioneer. In any case the Neo-Platonic theory of reality, the concept of three hypostases constituting the supersensuous world, has to go. It bears some similarity to the Christian doctrine of God, but the resemblances no less than the differences make it a hostile rival to the Christian conception. As Dr Inge says, the attempts made by Christian Platonists to equate the doctrine of the Trinity with the three divine hypostases were a failure; but this leaves unanswered the question whether the formulation of the Christian doctrine owes any debt to the Neo-Platonic theory.

In a wider sense much of Neo-Platonism has become an essential part of any philosophy that is not an anachronism. The chapter on

the world of sense sets forth the refutation of materialism. This involves the discussion of Plotinus's theory of matter, but it is enough to say that it is not on this theory that the value of the refutation depends. Two other interesting enquiries arise: the question whether matter is the principle of evil, and that of the creation of matter. The latter is brought into close connexion with the theological doctrine of creation. 'Plotinus holds that Matter was created, though not in time.' The reference given for this statement is *Enn.* 3. 2. 1; but it is not exactly matter that is referred to there. Plotinus speaks of the *κόσμος* and *τὸ πᾶν*, and his idea of its 'creation' involves the view that it was never non-existent. There is thus some ambiguity in the phrase 'created though not in time'; but this is removed by the orthodox definition of creation as 'production of a thing according to its whole substance, nothing being presupposed, whether created or uncreated', and the difficulties encountered in the attempts to harmonize the two views (by St Augustine, Scotus Erigena, Eckhart, the *Theologia Germanica*, and Leibniz) are clearly brought out.

In the chapters dealing with the categories the question of the objective value of the Neo-Platonic system comes again to the front. From this point of view these sections are the most important and significant in the whole work, as they involve the question whether we are dealing with a beautiful series of subjective images or with ultimate reality. Comparison, or rather contrast, with Zeller's exposition is inevitable, and Zeller's treatment would almost lead us to agree with Dr Inge, who has often thought that the unquestionable inferiority of German literature about Platonism 'points to an inherent defect in the German mind', were it not that there is no modern treatment of the categories more like that of Plotinus than Hegel's. The Aristotelian system has been treated too slavishly, even when it has been departed from. These categories were not in the first place essential features of reality, but general classes of such features—genera of predication, and merely to reclassify them does not take us much further. The real problem is not so much to rearrange our common concepts in any other more or less arbitrary classes, as to determine more closely what the essential features of the concepts are which we must attribute to reality. Dr Inge's discussion does advance the question, and if it does not say the last possible word, this is rather as he himself implies, because he has not spoken so fully on the subject as he might have done.

The main subjects of the second volume are the immortality of the soul, the spiritual world, and the special relations of the philosophy to ethics, religion, and aesthetics. The exposition of Greek theories of immortality is extremely interesting; but when we come to Plotinus,

we are disappointed in not finding what his message is for us on this subject, for 'the discussion of the Christian doctrine or doctrines of immortality does not fall within the scope of this book', and the subject is diverted to the speculations of the Alexandrine school of Christian theology. However, what Plotinus taught is stated clearly enough. 'He does not help out his notion of the spiritual world by peopling it with creatures in a semi-gaseous condition.' There is no bodily resurrection, nor is there ultimate absorption of individuality. 'The eternal world is no "undifferentiated jelly"'. And this rich life implies reciprocal action among Souls.' There is reincarnation, even if not among animals. 'The beatified Soul has its citizenship in heaven, but it must continue always to produce its like on the stage of time.'

It is this principle that the soul belongs to the spiritual world, and that it is never cut off or separated from its source, which makes Neo-Platonism a real metaphysic of mysticism. The chapter on the Absolute gives translations of copious passages, which shew us what the mystic quest meant for Plotinus. For him the goal is the Beatific Vision itself, a view which no Christian, or at least catholic, mystic could accept. Hence the conclusion that 'there is, and must be, an element of illusion in the vision of the Godhead'. The question of illusion indeed runs through the whole theory of mysticism, not merely from the point of view of the psychologist, who sees in it nothing more than typical hypnotic processes, but also for the serious enquirer, who cannot put a quietist, a faqir, and a mediaeval saint, in the same rank as witnesses. This and many other matters are not subjects for mere comment, but for study in the same spirit of sympathetic investigation with which they have been written.

The Neo-Platonists: A Study in the History of Hellenism, by T. WHITTAKER. Second edition, with a supplement on the Commentaries of Proclus. (Cambridge University Press, 1918.)

MR WHITTAKER'S book on its first appearance was declared to be not merely the best monograph on the Neo-Platonists that has appeared in this country, but in all respects as good as could be made of its size. It has now been enlarged, and it will be sufficient to draw attention to the additions and to certain other features, which remaining in this second edition invite revision in the future.

The principle is well brought out that in method Plotinus is not mystical, but has a reasoned-out system. 'The Neo-Platonic thought

is, metaphysically, the maturest thought that the European world has seen.' Allowing this to pass, we cannot accordingly avoid some surprise at finding Plotinus's doctrine of the categories dismissed as being in no organic relation to his general system. So far as the categories are merely genera of predication or even classes of features of existence, it is perhaps not important whether they are ten or any other arbitrary number. But for Plotinus they were distinctions in the essential nature of being, and he made a most important innovation by dividing them into those of the intelligible and those of the sensible world. This is not even mentioned, nor the circumstance that the former are those of Plato's *Sophist*. Even if it were correct to say that this division was abandoned by the Neo-Platonic school, we have the significant fact that, whatever its metaphysical value, it survived for mediaeval philosophy, and hence should find a place in the chapter on the influence of Neo-Platonism.

Being, says Plotinus, cannot be predicated in the same sense of the intelligible world and of bodily nature. This is exactly the scholastic doctrine: *ens non dicitur univoce de Deo et creaturis*. How then can there be any sense in applying to God terms belonging to the sensible world? The answer is the same in Plotinus and in St Thomas, but only a discussion of the categories will make it clear. How much of this came through the Fathers is a further question. We are told that the influence of Neo-Platonism on the official Christian philosophy of the succeeding period was mainly in the department of psychology, and this, it appears, lies in the idea of purely immaterial soul. This scarcely justifies the claim to have made clear the general direction of the influence and its principal stages.

Most remarkable of all is the statement regarding the Arabian philosophy, that 'its distinctive doctrine of an impersonal immortality of the general human intellect is . . . as contrasted both with Aristotelianism and with Neo-Platonism, essentially original'. By the general human intellect Mr Whittaker no doubt means the *intellectus agens*, the active intellect which makes thought possible, as opposed to the *intellectus patiens* which actually thinks things. This, so far from being in contrast with Aristotelianism, is pure Aristotle. By 'general' he probably means the doctrine that the active intellect is one in all men, and this too was taken by Averroes straight from the Greek commentators on Aristotle. These are well-known facts, and if they are to be denied, they need to be directly refuted. But what has all this to do with Neo-Platonism? Nothing, according to Mr Whittaker, as he finds that the affinity of the doctrine is rather with Persian and Indian mysticism, a view which it would be interesting to see traced to its source.

Such statements as these are continually arresting the attention in the

chapter on the influence of Neo-Platonism. Dante, we are told, was a student both of Aquinas and of Dionysius the Areopagite. And yet, 'if we find Neo-Platonic ideas in Dante, there is no difficulty about their source. The line of derivation goes straight back to the teaching of Proclus.' But that it does go straight back is just what needs to be shewn. 'That the higher cause remains in itself, while producing that which is next to it in order of being, is affirmed by Dante in terms which might have come direct from Plotinus or Proclus.' Or shall we say, not that they might have, but that they actually did, come direct from St Thomas and Aristotle?

The chapter which seeks to discover a general law in the development of philosophic thought—a phase of speculative naturalism being followed by a phase of idealism—remains as in the first edition. It is admitted, however, that in modern Europe we can hardly expect to trace through the whole development any law whatever. Further, one or other of the phases may be practically suppressed, India and China have to be put aside as ethnical anomalies, and after all, 'no exact verification of so extended a deduction can be made out. All that can be said is that the facts do not contradict it'. We are thus precluded from asking what the chapter is intended to prove.

The new features of this edition may be heartily welcomed. They are the chapter on the gnostics, which has been rewritten in the light of Reitzenstein's researches, and especially the appendix giving an analysis of Proclus's commentaries on four of Plato's dialogues, and discussing the minor treatises on Providence, Fate, and Evils. The account of the commentaries is given to furnish evidence that Proclus was not only a great systematizer but a deep-going original thinker. His theories are valuable now, not for their originality, but in so far as they have become embedded in the notions we have inherited from mediaeval thought. For their proper criticism nothing can be better than to consider them in the light of their historical relations.

Boethius: the Theological Tractates, with an English translation by H. F. STEWART, D.D., and E. K. RAND, Ph.D., and *The Consolation of Philosophy*, with the English translation of 'I. T.' (1609), revised by H. F. STEWART. (Loeb Classical Library.) (Heinemann, London, 1918.)

VOLTAIRE speaking of a greater than Boethius said, 'sa réputation s'affermira toujours, parce qu'on ne le lit guère.' It is to be feared that the same judgement, however unjust it may be, is true of the *Consolation*

of *Philosophy*, but at least one excuse for the neglect of this 'golden volume' is now removed. The accompanying translation, which in its antique Elizabethan English is worthy to stand beside the original, not merely belongs to literature, but is also an example of sound scholarship not specially associated with the Elizabethans. The text of the whole book with occasional critical notes is due to Prof. Rand, who is preparing a critical edition of the Tractates. What we have here is a readable text closely following ninth and tenth century MSS, and an avoidance of mere conjectures that have become traditional. In *I met.* 4, where *iecit* is conjectured for *egit*, possibly a misprint has escaped notice, as it is not clear how the change would solve the metrical difficulty.

The genuineness of the theological tractates, which owing to the absence of anything Christian in the *Consolation* was long denied, has been established through the discovery of new evidence; but we are still left with some surprise as to how it was that a Christian under sentence of death could compose a work that deals with theodicy and the destiny of the soul, without revealing any definite traces of his faith. We can form a probable theory, and that is all.

Three of the tractates deal specially with the doctrine of the Trinity. Boethius's treatment is quite Aristotelian, though he has to rearrange the categories almost to as great an extent as Plotinus. Of the ten categories one predicates substance and the nine others accidents, accident here meaning anything inhering in substance. But with reference to the divine the whole scheme is changed. Substance remains, but in a different sense, for God is properly *ultra substantiam*. Time, place, and action have to be replaced by non-temporal and other concepts. Relation, situation, and passion do not apply at all, nor do quality and quantity in the sense of predicating accidents. We may apply the terms good or great to a thing, but to God only in the sense of predicating goodness or greatness. Quality and quantity thus become predications concerning substance, or as Boethius calls them, substantial categories.

It is this scheme which underlies the argument of the second tractate, the purpose of which is to enquire whether we can apply the names of the three Persons to Divinity in this substantial sense. The answer is no, as it would involve applying these names to the one substance. Here Boethius reintroduces the category of relation, which he had excluded as a mode of predication of God. The terms applied singly to each Person are relative terms, though they do not, as e.g. the terms master and slave, involve an external relation. His treatment is all the more cogent, because he does not seek to find analogies or images drawn from sensibles, which do not properly apply to a higher

reality, and are mainly responsible for the popular notion that the doctrine of the Trinity is antirational. The relation is unique, and not found in created things.

The question of realism in Boethius is discussed in a note by Dr Stewart. It may be mentioned that the passage in Porphyry, from which at a later period the nominalist dispute started, does not present such a neutral attitude as is sometimes supposed. In the *Isagoge* Porphyry leaves unanswered the queries whether genera and species exist, whether they exist as mere notions, whether as incorporeal or as bodies, and whether as separate or in sensibles. But it is evident that these represent a narrowing down of the essential question, and that each succeeding query would be meaningless, unless the previous one had been answered in a realistic sense. As Boethius himself points out, it would be a frivolous and absurd question to ask whether they were corporeal or not, if it were not agreed that they exist. Thus when he says that he does not think it fit to decide between Plato and Aristotle, there is no doubt about his being definitely committed to the realistic position. He refers here only to deciding between two kinds of realism.

The tractate against Eutyches and Nestorius derives its chief interest from the careful definition of the theological terms *Natura* and *Persona*, and their exact relation to the corresponding Greek terms. Harnack asserts that the Christian writings of Boethius had no influence on posterity, but Dr Stewart makes it clear that this is certainly not the case. The treatment of these terms by St Thomas shews that he took Boethius as an authority much as he took Aristotle. In at least three places where he discusses Person he quotes Boethius, basing his treatment explicitly on this tractate; and his discussion of Nature is much the same. This tractate has thus not a merely antiquarian interest, but it forms an essential link in the history of the trinitarian terminology.

The translation of the Tractates is mainly the work of Dr Stewart, and, not to speak of the notes, it is in itself a commentary forming an important aid to the study of the theological and philosophical problems presented.

E. J. THOMAS.

The Problem of the Fourth Gospel, by H. LATIMER JACKSON, D.D.
(Cambridge University Press, 1918.)

IN 1906 Dr Jackson published a small book on the Fourth Gospel in relation to recent criticism. A new edition being required, the author found himself obliged to rewrite the whole. The reason for

such rewriting may be partly the appearance of fresh volumes of criticism in England and Germany ; but it was probably quite as much the progress of the writer's own mind in the interval. In fact the tone of the two works is different. In the book of 1906, the author writes as if thoroughgoing criticism of the Gospels needed some excuse and some limitation : in the volume of 1918, he writes as a veteran critic who takes the necessity of a penetrating criticism for granted. There are probably classes of readers to whom the earlier work will be more congenial, as it is certainly more readable ; the later work is impressive by the great extent of its learning, the orderliness of its contents, the calmness and balance of its judgement. Any one who wishes to survey the problem, or rather the problems, so fascinatingly offered by the Gospel will find in Dr Jackson's book the material for a study of it set out in a way which is masterly, though perhaps somewhat too colourless for the average reader.

The width of reading to which the foot-notes testify is remarkable. Sometimes one is tempted to resent the evenhandedness with which obviously absurd suggestions by learned German critics are set forth. But on second thoughts one sees that this is quite in accord with the purpose of the writer, who wishes to look at every problem from all sides. In a large scale-map the by-ways and even the no-thoroughfares must be marked as well as the highways. And perhaps the most notable feature of the book is the skilful compression by which there is concentrated into 170 pages matter which some writers would have expanded into a huge volume. As a consequence the book is not one to read hastily. Some readers will wish that Dr Jackson, after giving the various views of the learned, would more often and more strongly express his own opinion. But the phrase *tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner* is of wide import ; and very wide reading has a tendency to indispose a writer to be dogmatic.

It would be a hopeless attempt if I tried to summarize a book which is itself a summary. And the personal note which is striking in Dr Sanday's works for example, and in Mr Scott's book on the Fourth Gospel, is suppressed by Dr Jackson. I will only take up in succession a few of the many Johannine problems, and consider their treatment in the book before us.

Certainly these problems are of great difficulty ; and in regard to some of them the solution still seems far off. As Dr Jackson well remarks (p. 116), the first necessity is to enter into the state of mind of the writer ; and this is of all things the most difficult. It demands an exercise of the historic imagination, overleaping time and conditions, of which few critics are capable ; and, in the special case of this Gospel, until recently the historic imagination has been completely misdirected,

taking its flight towards Palestine, when it should have gone to Ephesus. Thus a great deal of time and talent has been fruitlessly expended.

In regard to the authenticity of the Johannine discourses, Dr Jackson takes, as might be expected, the line of robust good sense. He adopts the verdict 'Say what we will about differences of audience and of situation demanding different forms of address, and allowing for exceptional instances, the contrast between the terse axiomatic sayings, the simple parables of the Synoptics, and the elaborate arguments of the Johannine discourses is too great to be explained away'. And again, more tersely, 'Not so spoke Jesus of Nazareth.' The construction of the discourses is in a high degree artificial, with strophe, antistrophe, and epode; and the crassness of 'the Jews' is used with great skill to emphasize a spiritual interpretation. There is so much in the few pages of the book that we can scarcely complain that there is not more; but a more detailed discussion of this matter would have been welcome. Dr Jackson also treats with great brevity another question in regard to the historical part of the Fourth Gospel.

The most fundamental, and the most difficult, of all the Johannine problems is this: is the narrative of the Evangelist based upon an actual tradition, coming from a contemporary? or is it a construction, largely allegorical, of an order of events determined not by any tradition, but by inner or doctrinal necessities? The two views are not rigidly exclusive, the either-or attitude is nearly always fallacious. If we accept the former we must allow that the tradition is often coloured and adapted. If we accept the latter, we must yet feel that the construction is not altogether independent of historic fact, of the Marcan narrative for example. Nevertheless it is by their tendency towards one or the other of the alternatives that writers on the Fourth Gospel must be classed. Ordinary orthodoxy inclines too much to the historic acceptance, M. Loisy, as I think, too much to the allegorical. Dr Jackson adopts a mediating attitude, accepting the advice of von Soden, that the modern reader will be well-advised if, forgetting the outward narrative of the Johannine 'signs', he loses himself in its deeper significance. This does not of course solve the historic questions of the historicity of the reported Miracles, or the nature of the evangelist's sources; but it indicates that these questions can be discussed by critics without fear of any injury to the Christian faith, whatever be the solution reached.

A question which, in my opinion, Dr Jackson handles with less perspicacity than most others is that of the identity of the 'beloved disciple'. There is no point on which criticism has been wilder and more random. Critics who have seen that the Fourth Gospel could not have been written by the Apostle John, have often searched in

a purely subjective way for a beloved disciple who may have been the writer. Andrew the Apostle, Nathanael, Lazarus, John Mark, even Judas Iscariot have been suggested. Dr Jackson had somewhat committed himself by favouring the view that the Apostle John was one of the earliest Christian martyrs and so could not have lived at Ephesus. But after going over the various conjectures as to the beloved disciple, he arrives only at a negative conclusion (p. 168). '*Non liquet*. Conjecture may follow conjecture, but of conclusive proof there is none; perhaps no last word is possible. That he is a real person is far from certain. If real person he be, he is not—so we venture to decide—the son of Zebedee.' This extreme scepticism is scarcely justified. We must allow that the son of Zebedee could not have actually written the Fourth Gospel. But if we reject the very slight testimony to the early death of John, and take him in later life to Ephesus, there does not seem any sufficient reason for denying that he may in a measure have inspired the '*Gospel according to St John*'. His identity with the beloved disciple is indicated by very strong arguments. Curiously enough, Dr Jackson does not mention the strongest of these arguments. If there is any historic fact known as to the beloved disciple it is that he was present at the Last Supper, and there reclined next to Jesus himself. But in both Mark and Matthew there is no trace of any participator in that supper except the twelve apostles. It is difficult to suppose that a fourteenth person, Nathanael or Lazarus or any one else, would suddenly come in, and take precedence of all the twelve. The unwillingness of some very able critics to accept the obvious view can best be explained by supposing that they thought the denial of the direct Johannine authorship of the Gospel compelled them to look among the early disciples for a possible author. But if we accept the date for the Gospel at which Dr Jackson arrives, about A. D. 100–135, none of the early disciples would be alive when it appeared. And if we further grant that the actual writer was an Ephesian disciple of St Paul, there is no reason why his evangelic tradition should not have come from John the Apostle, if, as was so generally believed in antiquity, the Apostle lived on at Ephesus.

Dr Jackson points out that what is recorded in the Synoptists as to John the son of Zebedee does not well accord either with what is said in the Fourth Gospel of the beloved disciple, or with the main ideas of the Gospel. This is doubtless true; but the argument is of no great force. The statements in the Synoptists may well be historical. But the beloved disciple in the Fourth Gospel is so completely idealized, has become so much obscured as a source of information, that we must not for a moment press what we are told about him, or imagine that he is really responsible for the outlook of the Fourth Gospel. When we

are told that he was the disciple 'who wrote these things' we may fairly take the phrase with great latitude, as indicating that the writer of the Gospel knew of some document written by the beloved disciple. We are often misled by transplanting into the soil of antiquity modern notions of literary correctness and authenticity.

Dr Jackson is a student who sticks most methodically to his theme. Yet even he is not impervious to the impulse which compels every writer at the moment to touch on the great war and its results. He feels strongly, as all high-minded Christians must feel, that we are in the greatest danger, both in our internal reorganization and our international strivings, of being content with the consideration of things merely material, commerce, wealth, the promotion of democratic comfort (p. 134), 'what cannot be said is that the nation has as yet risen to, let alone consecrated itself to, an "ideal" which takes full account of things intellectual, spiritual, and moral. And apart from such an ideal, there can be, in the true sense of the word, no national wealth.' 'The case is one in which our Gospel is of profoundest significance. The spiritual exaltation which characterizes it is precisely what our times need.'

The significance of the Gospel in another direction is also hinted at. There is an obvious inconsistency between the tendency of the Evangelist, and such a simple, I had almost said such a superficial, historic statement of belief as we have in the so-called Apostles' Creed. Dr Jackson (p. 140) suggests that it may be necessary for the Christian consciousness 'boldly to experiment in creed-construction, not in terms of, but on the lines which are surely indicated by, the Fourth Evangelist'. The Fourth Gospel has been regarded as the citadel of the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ. And as such no doubt it was accepted at the time, and in the Middle Ages. But the Johannine view of the matter, based on the philosophy of Heracleitus and Plato, is not equally suitable to our modern minds. The moderns who are indisposed to accept that view are sometimes influenced, not by any lower view of the Saviour, but, as the author of *Natural Religion* has eloquently shewn, by a greatly exalted and expanded view of the nature of deity, of which view some account must be taken.

P. GARDNER.

The Ephesian Gospel, by PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.B.A. (Williams & Norgate. Crown Theological Library.)

THE problems that mass themselves round the authorship and contents of the Fourth Gospel may, many of them, be insoluble, yet they continually invite exploration. We have here, on the highest level, precisely the sort of enigma which, in the province of letters and history, possesses an enduring fascination for the critic. A biography with a purpose, a constant allusiveness whose clues sometimes escape us, an authorship whose identification is always beyond, yet only just beyond, our reach, provide materials for an investigation of such a scope as brings to mind the superb hyperbole with which the Gospel closes. So vast a literature, indeed, has grown up around it that, as Professor Gardner says in his present volume, 'to master it completely would be the work of many years, if not of a lifetime'. For this reason the critic who has a contribution to make to the work of elucidation had best approach his subject-matter with a theory to vindicate or a considered aspect under which to view it. A selection of *data* for discussion has to be made somehow for working purposes, and this is the best way to make it. Dr Gardner offers good evidence for an Ephesian *provenance* for the Fourth Gospel, and the moment we assume its Ephesian background there follows a number of interesting considerations, which throw a good deal of fresh light on the special characteristics of the Gospel. St Paul had preached at Ephesus and had warned his church there of a coming intrusion of Judaizing opponents. To this latter Judaic school of thought, Dr Gardner thinks, the writer of the Apocalypse belonged; the Evangelist, on the other hand, is clearly a disciple of the Pauline teaching, which he follows in its tendency to allegory, and in its far more important features of the mystic communion betwixt Christ and the Church, in its doctrine of 'eternal life', and in, practically, the Pauline identification of the Spirit, or the Spirit of Christ, with the exalted Christ Himself. But another teacher than St Paul had lived at Ephesus, and influenced its thought. Cerinthus taught the earliest form of Gnosticism there, and in the Johannine Gospel is found the firmest stress, a stress stronger than St Paul's, on the real humanity of Christ. His earthly life, which had little importance to St Paul, was to the Evangelist, and not least in its physical details—weariness, thirst—the manifestation under complete human conditions of the 'Word' of God.

Dr. Gardner affirms the strong points of likeness between the sacramental teaching of the Gospel and the pagan Mystery-Religions, and fights hard for his previously expressed views on the subject. It is

a little surprising, therefore, that he should find it 'simply astounding' that the actual institution of the Eucharist goes unrecorded in the Gospel. For surely, considering its late date and its Ephesian origin, this was to be expected. Reticence as to what constituted the inner Mystery Rites of the Christian Faith would be both necessary and normal. It was one thing that the Synoptists should describe the Last Supper as a matter of simple history; quite another that such an account should accompany the doctrine of the living Bread and the true Vine.

As to the vexed question of the authorship, Dr Gardner is really hard to understand. He admits an influence, or a tradition, at work in the Gospel caught from the Apostle John. Indeed, one of the arguments for its Ephesian source is that at Ephesus is found 'a veritable confusion of Johns. Tradition makes John the Apostle reside there'; yet that the author was the son of Zebedee is, he tells us, 'so improbable that we may regard the view as set aside'. However, 'there is a Johannine element'. Yet, later on, he says that 'the "beloved disciple" has been by most commentators, and in my view, rightly, taken as John, son of Zebedee'. In view of the explicit statement of ch. xxi that the beloved disciple 'wrote these things', there seems something like a contradiction here, and Dr Gardner is obviously aware of an awkwardness. In general, he approves the balanced statement of Dr Latimer Jackson that 'the writer was that enigmatical but real personage who somehow refuses identification with the son of Zebedee, the "beloved disciple"'. But Dr Jackson is the last person to identify the beloved disciple with the son of Zebedee, though his sentence, away from its context, certainly reads ambiguously. Internal evidence, it may be urged with diffidence, is extremely strong against such an identification. As, for example—it is but one of many discrepancies—the Fourth Gospel never ascribes disease to demon possession. St Mark, on the other hand, records (ix 38) that the Apostle John believed in demon-possession and acted on his belief. If the Apostle John were in some way 'behind' the writing of the Fourth Gospel, as Dr Gardner thinks, would the significant silence of the Gospel on this point be conceivable?

However, this is but one question out of many, and it is not possible to pursue this fascinating part of the problem. Nor is it, after all, that with which Dr Gardner has chief concern. His own thesis is worked out with skill and insight, and forms a valuable addition to Johannine literature.

Evolution in Christian Doctrine, by PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.B.A.
(Williams & Norgate. Crown Theological Library.)

PROFESSOR GARDNER's book is more in the nature of an appeal than of a historic survey. He tries to make, and largely succeeds in making, articulate the qualified acceptance, the half-conscious reservations, with regard to the Christian Creed common enough nowadays amongst many who would reckon themselves as professing the Christian Faith. Many Englishmen—for it is a peculiarly English attitude of mind—are hardly aware how half-hearted is their acceptance of the Church's formularies; in most cases they are well content to avoid a too strict examination into the niceties of their convictions. They believe in Christianity 'in a general way'. They do not feel called upon to express their views as to, say, the Virgin Birth, the physical Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, or His Divine claims. It has been truly said that the English have semi-Arianism in their blood. Certainly all Englishmen are constitutionally shy of talking of their religious beliefs. Dr Gardner here breaks through their shyness for them and reproduces for us very accurately the standpoint of an *anima naturaliter Christiana*, under the influence of modern (sometimes 'modernist') thought, cultivated, reasonable, devout.

Perhaps a few instances may make his position clearer, in its caution, its distrust of logic in matters religious, its demand for intellectual sincerity and freedom. He is willing to pass by the doctrine of the Virgin Birth with a mere deprecatory shake of the head. He calls orthodox believers here 'the apologists', himself 'the historic inquirer'; the doctrine is 'not part of the foundations of the faith'; St Paul 'built nothing on the virginal birth'; but he sums up quickly, 'I wish to make it clear that I do not assert the impossibility of the virginal birth. But I do maintain, first, that the evidence for such birth is inadequate, and, second, that it is no necessary part of Christian belief'. That is true enough; the historical evidence is, and must remain, defective. The argument of necessity nearly always involves those who employ it in a vicious circle. Yet Dr Gardner, despite his unwillingness, might not have given the subject a more searching treatment. But he passes with the Resurrection. Here we meet a succession of various arguments grouped around the writer's confidence in the fact and reality of many of its recorded details. He thinks that it is not impossible for more exact studies of the phenomena of spiritual life, and some future time give us better opportunities of forming hypotheses of its operations'. There could hardly be a wider area than this of the book as a whole and of the effort it bears on the subject.

But this is said in no hostile sense. There is a great deal that is suggestive in Dr Gardner's thought, as, for example, when he comes to the 'ideal Personality of Christ' which, he says, 'combines the sum of the true followers of the incarnate Son of God'. He lays stress on this 'collective personality of the Church', with Christ as its Head. 'Every Christian must take part in the life of Christ on earth'. This thought is followed up to practical issues. It is, indeed, easy to know how Dr Gardner conceives the exalted Christ, whom he identifies with the Divine Spirit for ever at work in evolving the higher life of mankind. It is more difficult to discover what exact position he assigns to the human Jesus, whose life is carefully shorn of the 'miracles and wonders' in which early Christianity believed, and to which it attached the importance of 'signs'. But here again lies the significance of a book whose hesitations and aspirations many will regard as their own. And then they will ask, What reply will official Christianity make to our claim, at this period confessedly of transition and of adjustment, to re-interpret our Creed, and be Christians still?

Virgil and Isaiah: A Study of the Pollio. With Translations, Notes, and Appendices. By THOMAS FLETCHER ROYDS, B.D. (Oxford: Blackwell.)

THIS is a very able and charming book on a familiar theme, though one not treated for the last twelve years. In 1907, two notable commentaries on the 'Pollio' appeared. Professor Ramsay suggested that the 'Child' of the Fourth or 'Messianic' Eclogue was not intended to be an actual son, whether born of Octavian and Scribonia or of Pollio, but was the 'new Roman people that is to be'. This idea Mr Royds rejects—though Professor Ramsay may have been right in discerning the ideal behind the actual—and, rightly calling attention to the force of the last few lines of the Eclogue, prefers to follow Mr Warde Fowler in his contribution to the essays in 'Virgil's Messianic Eclogue': the child must be an offspring of the Caesars. As for the Messianic idea, despite Mr Sidgwick's indignation and Mr Mackail's deprecation, not to speak of Heyne's thundering denunciation, the Christian belief in it from the fifth century onwards through the Middle Ages makes a fascinating chapter in the history of literature. It is graven in the stones of Zamora Cathedral, echoed in the well-known salutation of Rheims, and for ever enshrined in the poetry of Dante. Virgil and Plotinus—prophet and mystic—were the pet adopted children of the Christian Church. Mr Royds lays stress on one parallel between

Isaiah and Virgil in the fact that for each the kingdom was essential, the king accidental. Christianity is a greater fulfilment of the visions of both seers. 'Organizations never repent', says Mr Wells. Christianity centres in the Person of Christ, at once a perpetual challenge and a perpetual reinforcement to its faith. To conclude an all too brief survey of a useful and delightful book, mention should be made of a happy translation of the Eclogue in English hexameters (not of the Poet Laureate's variety), and of the admirable Appendices, in the second of which the query, Had Virgil read the Septuagint Isaiah? is discussed in an affirmative sense.

W. K. FLEMING.

Liberal Judaism and Hellenism, and other Essays, by CLAUDE G. MONTE-
FIORE. (Macmillan & Co., 1918.)

THIS is a fine book. As Mr Montefiore tells us, it originated in a course of Lectures which he had been invited to deliver in the United States, but which, owing to war conditions, did not come off; and it is a happy combination of circumstances to which we owe his decision to 'publish them as essays in book form before they become too musty' (which is improbable) 'and out of date' (which is quite another matter when all things are in a state of flux). Not that they are throughout entirely new to English readers; the first appeared, in part, in the *Hibbert Journal* of Jan. 1918, while portions of the fifth and sixth have been utilized in a series of papers issued by the Jewish Religious Union for the Advancement of Liberal Judaism.

But to turn from questions of origins to the Essays themselves ;—with the perhaps unnecessary remark that, if some of their perusers be provoked to disagreement, all will do justice to their author's scholarly pen and captivating warmth of style.

The pride of place, if not of title, is given to that which treats of 'Liberal Judaism and the Old Testament'. Here Mr Montagu ~~Montagu~~ differentiates between higher and lower elements, between the ~~permanent~~ and the obsolete, in the Hebrew Bible; 'it is true', he says, 'that the authority is not the same authority to us as it is to our ~~brethren~~ brethren' (p. 75); with frank recognition of differences, ~~between~~ 'ragged edges'—he affirms the Liberal position: 'we ~~have~~ have not the Old Testament view of life, but we have not thrown away the ~~key~~ key; in this respect it 'seems to be much more modern, ~~and~~ and, in fact, New', 'for the deepest problem of life . . . is the ~~same~~ same' (p. 77).

excellences nevertheless far outweigh its defects; 'to have vitally connected morality with the doctrine of *One* God, and to have vitally connected the service of that One God with morality—that is the glory of the Old Testament' (p. 53) which, a supremely great book, 'primary and fundamental' (as compared with the New, which is 'secondary and supplemental') 'abides as the basis of our faith, as our stronghold and our charter' (p. 128). With this last quotation I find myself already at the last page of Essay ii; in it Mr Montefiore turns from the Hebrew Bible to define his own strongly sympathetic yet sometimes gladiatorial attitude in respect of the New Testament, and in so doing he advances cogent reasons why a book in large part written by a Jew—and a Jew its hero—has large claim to the scientific and impartial study of his co-religionists. In his general criticisms of its literature there is, perhaps, no great need to follow him at length; as for the Johannine Gospel and Epistles, they 'contain little religious and ethical material which has any value for Jewish, or Liberal Jewish readers' (p. 113); the case is otherwise with the other Gospels and the writings which bear the name of Paul. Very noble and important, on some points, is the Apostle's teaching; his conception of Faith or of Grace is not without its value if his 'antagonism to the Law and his antithesis of Faith and Law' be obsolete—'we have risen above them' (p. 116); breaking down the 'barrier (it is true by erecting another) between Jew and Gentile' 'the great and momentous contribution of Paul to religious developement was his pronounced and emphatic universalism' (p. 118f). By preference Mr Montefiore lingers on the Synoptic Gospels; here he does not scruple to tell us that 'to call the life of the historic Jesus the flawless exemplar, the essence, the completion, the fullness, of the absolutely perfect life seems to (him) exaggerated and impossible' (p. 125), while he finds retrogression illustrated in the deification of a mere man. For all that Jesus is 'the great teacher of inwardness' who 'resumes the prophetic rôle' (p. 97), and it is scarcely possible that for some of His 'insistent and passionate appeals there is no place in any Jewish heart' (p. 104); that His teaching is neither perfect nor complete, that it includes views about God and His relations with man, which we must reject and repudiate altogether, need not prevent us from accepting, using, acknowledging, and reverencing those portions of his teaching which *do* appeal to us, and which we can regard as valuable and true (p. 113). A restricted 'using': 'for many reasons', writes the author, 'I should be quite against the use of the New Testament in our worship' if, 'first-class literature' that it is, it ought to be assigned a place in 'the higher grades and classes of the religious school' (pp. 89, 91). Essays iii and iv contain much that, admirably put, is intensely interesting; in the one we have an elaborate and

discriminating disquisition on the merits and demerits of Rabbinical Literature: 'we can freely pick and choose; we can take what is good, and omit or neglect what is inferior . . . there will be more taking than neglecting' (p. 173); in the other 'the relations of Liberal Judaism and Hellenism' are held to be 'a subject not merely for antiquarian research, but for life and for practice' for this reason, amongst others, that 'Liberal Judaism desires to take its place as a genuine religion of the Western world' (p. 190); and in Mr Montefiore's opinion there are not a few things which it can learn from Hellenism (p. 222). In the next and fifth Essay, 'Liberal Judaism and Democracy', it is maintained, not without show of forcefulness, that, if Liberal Judaism has 'never penetrated far among the "masses"', it is because there have been 'no serious attempts at such penetration' (p. 244); to the question whether 'it has nothing on which they will lay hold'—one which our author is evidently disposed to answer with a comprehensive and emphatic affirmative—I, not unmindful of Dr Bethune-Baker's searching yet sympathetic criticisms (*The Faith of the Apostles' Creed* pp. 187 ff), am disposed to reply in his, Mr Montefiore's, own words: 'Well, that remains to be seen' (p. 247). The sixth, and last, Essay reaches far ahead, and is juicy reading throughout; in it we learn something of the author's ardent hopes and aspirations; let me single out one significant passage: 'Judged by old and orthodox standards, Unitarianism is less Christian than Liberal Judaism is Jewish: nevertheless, the future of Christianity may be reserved for some form or phase of Unitarianism, which itself may ultimately coalesce with the Liberal Judaism of the future. We need not attempt to prophesy too closely; yet we keep our prophetic goal in our hearts and in our minds' (p. 306).

I should be sorry to say that I had reviewed the exceedingly attractive and suggestive book before me. I have but indicated the general character and tone of its contents. In taking leave of its distinguished author I recall words spoken in my presence by one who, like himself, is an exponent of Liberal Judaism—his friend and mine: 'there are many ways in which God's children may fall into the Universal Father's arms.' His own way is no ignoble way.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

The Book of Judges, with Introduction and Notes, edited by C. F. BURNEY, D.Litt. (Rivingtons, London, 1918.)

DR BURNEY has given us not only a valuable commentary on the Hebrew text of Judges,¹ but also a careful historical investigation of the early period of Israel's residence in Canaan. Thus while his book reminds the reader of Dr Driver's *Notes on Samuel* in many of its features, its scope is much wider. It is perhaps the most important single volume on the Old Testament which has appeared in England during the present century.

Dr Burney is well equipped for his task: he is not only a good Hebrew grammarian and philologist, but his knowledge of the Babylonian language and antiquities is very considerable.

The Introduction (of nearly a hundred pages) contains new and important matter. In § 4 Dr Burney urges that the main Editor of Judges was uninfluenced by Deuteronomy: he would describe him not as R^D but as R^E, i. e. Redactor of the late Ephraimite School. The Professor points out that there is a close relation between the editorial passages in Judges ii, vi, viii, and x on the one hand, and on the other hand Joshua xxiv, which is not Deuteronomic, but belongs in the main to E². Section 6, which extends over sixty-three pages, is a full and careful examination of all Babylonian and Egyptian evidence which bears on the state of Palestine during the period of the Judges. The most recent literature is made use of.

As a commentator Dr Burney takes full note of earlier expositions, including those of G. F. Moore, while fully preserving his own independence. His comments on the Song of Deborah afford good evidence of this; even on such a well-worn theme he has much to say that is both new and true. He does justice to the Rabbinic commentators, Rashi and Kimchi, as well as to the Moderns. In addition to the notes there are several valuable dissertations, e.g. on *Ashera* (vi 25); *ephod* (viii 27); *the mythical element in the story of Samson*; and *the Origin of the Levites*. The geographical side of the commentary is fully and carefully dealt with, and a good map of Palestine divided into five sections concludes the volume. The whole work is a credit to English Semitic scholarship.

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE S.P.C.K. TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

The Octavius of Minucius Felix, by J. H. Freese (Translations of Christian Literature, Series ii, Latin Texts: London, S.P.C.K.), forms one of the excellent series in course of publication by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which has very wisely enlarged its original scheme of translations of 'Early Church Classics'. Mr Freese's Introduction tells all that is known of the text and author of the *Octavius*, and gives a pleasing *résumé* of the Dialogue. He summarizes the various arguments that have been employed for arriving at its date, without expressing his own opinion. There is just one little bit of evidence that Minucius preceded Tertullian which Mr Freese does not mention. The germ of Tertullian's argument in the *De Testimonio Animæ* is found in *Octavius* 18, and the nineteenth chapter so exactly corresponds to Tertullian's description in his opening words of the work of Christian authors who had culled from heathen writers testimonies to the Truth, that it is difficult not to feel that he is referring to Minucius's work. If Tertullian's words do not point to Minucius, they imply that booklets of the kind existed, and in that case both Minucius and Tertullian merely followed conventional lines of argument. We know that many early anti-Judaic dialogues (which copied each other almost slavishly) have been lost, and it need be no matter for surprise if Minucius and Tertullian were copyists of an earlier apologetic treatise or treatises not now extant. Mr Freese's translation is perfectly clear, correct, and written in the English language.

T. HERBERT BINDLEY.

The Lausiac History of Palladius, by Mr W. K. Lowther Clarke, B.D., another volume of the same series, is a translation in the main of Abbot Butler's text, with an Introduction dealing with the author, the historical and the spiritual value of the book, and the origin and the value of early Monasticism. Mr Clarke estimates this value very high, and says that asceticism was inherent in Christianity from the first—justly, I suppose; but it is surely unjust to attribute 'asceticism', as he does implicitly, to our Lord Himself. The translation is excellent, and the task of translating Palladius is not as easy as Mr Clarke modestly says it is. The notes that are appended add to its value.

In *St Dionysius of Alexandria*, by Dr C. L. Feltoe, we have an excellent short account of Dionysius and his work, and translations of

some of his letters and parts of his treatises. The translations follow the Greek idiom a little too closely to read quite easily. Some of them I should query: e. g. p. 102 'not subject to treatment' as a rendering of ἀπαθής (of God)—it is rather 'incapable of being acted on'; and in the same sentence 'mobile' and 'varying' (of matter)—they are passive states that the Greek words express; p. 103 the last sentence of the first paragraph is not grammatical—for 'views' above read 'men' and translate 'they express themselves' (for 'they are expressed'). On p. 40 note 2 the 'example' of Christ referred to is surely being put to death between two robbers. On p. 105 the third paragraph is not *ibid.* 23 (from the first book), but *ibid.* 17 (from the second book) and should be marked as a separate extract. But these are all small matters. It is all to the good to have what Dr Feltoe has provided. The *Letters* bring vividly before us many of the most interesting features of the epoch, and the work and anxieties of a leading bishop; and the extracts from the treatises *On the Promises*, *On Nature*, and *The Refutation and Defence* enable English readers to judge him as exegete, philosopher, and theologian.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

DICTIONARIES AND BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Of Dr J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh) five more volumes have been issued since our last notice of it (*J. T. S.* xv 141), the latest of them (the tenth) bringing us to the article on 'Sacraments' and therein to references to the experience of Presbyterian chaplains in the War. Dr Hastings has planned his work on so comprehensive a scale and secured such efficient collaborators that there are very few subjects of Religion and Ethics on which a student would not find in one or more articles in the *Encyclopaedia* the best introduction he could have to present knowledge and theory—such at least is the general conclusion to which I come from reading in each volume articles as to the worth of which I am able to form an opinion. When one wants information on a subject at the end of the alphabet, one may wish that the rate of progress was quicker, but ten such volumes in the course of ten years is an achievement with which editor and publishers may well be satisfied.

From the same indefatigable editor and publishers we also have a *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* in two volumes (1915 and 1918) for which the claim is justly made that it does for the rest of the New Testament what their *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* did for the Gospels, carrying the history of the Church as far as the end of the first

century. The four volumes undoubtedly constitute a library for the student of the New Testament which will supply almost all his needs. Some of the articles, in my judgement, are a good deal too conservative to be final, but in many of them, on the other hand, conclusions reached by writers in the *Dictionary of the Bible* are reconsidered and amended in the light of more recent investigation.

A Catholic Dictionary by W. E. Addis and T. Arnold was intended to supply 'English-speaking Catholics' with 'information on points of Catholic doctrine, ritual, and discipline' (preface to the first edition, 1883). The fact that a ninth edition, revised with additions by T. B. Scannell, D.D., is now published (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1917) is sufficient testimony of its value for its purpose. It covers a great deal of ground and there are statements in it that would not bear historical examination. Its chief merit in the eyes of others than those for whom it is primarily intended will be that it gives in concise form the accepted Roman theory of the Church and its constitution, with much information about ritual and practices which they will not find elsewhere in a single volume.

The Catholic Directory for Great Britain 1919 (Burns & Oates) gives so much information as it is that one ought not to ask for more. But it would be still more useful from the point of view of an editor of a theological journal if it contained the names of the learned clergy connected with study and teaching in the Church in Ireland.

The third and revised edition of Dr Moffatt's *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1918) contains some fresh matter, chiefly bibliographical, bringing the volume 'up to date as a work of reference for students of the subject'. Some passages also have been rewritten to correct slips and to bring out the meaning more clearly, but Dr Moffatt has not found reason to change any opinion on the major issues of the problem which he had adopted when his book was first published eight years ago. Where possible, references to more recent literature are embodied in the text, but an Appendix of 15 pages allows room for fuller treatment of some fresh points. The following are some of Dr Moffatt's judgements in regard to them. Harnack's ingenious theory about 2 Thess. saves its genuineness 'but at too heavy a cost': the theory that one or more of Paul's letters (especially Philippians) were written from an imprisonment at Ephesus lacks strong enough foundation: W. Haupt's theory of the Synoptic Gospels in its four editions is 'intricate to the verge of unclarity': none of the recent attempts made to date the three synoptic gospels is successful: Lk.'s omission of Mk. vi 45 viii 26 was intentional.

apostolic decree (Acts xv) was a food law: whatever affinities there may be between Stoicism and the prologue to the Fourth Gospel, it must be borne in mind that, as W. Capelle wrote, 'N.T. Christianity and Stoicism are completely incommensurable quantities', and we must look also to the older Wisdom-thought of Judaism (J. R. Harris): the trend of recent investigation, in spite of B. Weiss's argument to the contrary, is rightly against the unity of the Fourth Gospel: there is no proof that the Apostle John was identical with John of Ephesus, or that he lived at Ephesus, or that John of Ephesus was an apostle—Dr Swete's article in the JOURNAL (xvii 375-378) is cited in corroboration of Dr Moffatt's original argument.

Whether Dr Moffatt's judgements always commend themselves or not, his book is an incomparable guide to the vast literature of the subject, and students of the New Testament are deeply in his debt for the collection of the materials for independent study which he gives them.

The Catholic Student's 'Aids' to the Study of the Bible (vol. ii The New Testament: The Gospels) by Hugh Pope, O.P., S.T.M., D.S.Scr., to which Cardinal Gasquet writes a Preface of warm commendation (R. & T. Washbourne, 1918), has the usual features of such 'Aids' and some peculiar to itself. Thus, the account of the Pharisees is in the form of extensive quotations from Josephus; the chapters on 'the New Testament in general' and 'the Canon of the New Testament' consist largely of quotations from the Fathers, shewing the dependence of the Bible on the authority of the Church, and of various ecclesiastical declarations on the subject (a table shewing the history of the reception of the various books is given, in which in some cases the too generous estimates are imperfectly qualified by the fuller notes appended). Specially interesting are the chapters on the Original Text, the principal versions (Mr Pope inclines to reject the view that the Peshitta Syriac is a late revision), and Textual Criticism (also inclining towards the 'traditional' text). The chapters on the Gospels are valuable for their collection of ancient testimonies and opinions and modern interpretations of some of them: the traditional view of authorship is maintained and the arguments for it skilfully marshalled. The miracles are treated as proofs of the Divinity of Christ. As solution of the synoptic problem the 'two-document' theory is rejected in favour of an oral tradition partly in Greek and partly in Aramaic, preserved catechetically, as the decisions of the Biblical Commission (which are quoted fully) require. The book as a whole is a learned and interesting fulfilment of the writer's purpose *a Fide Ecclesiae Catholicae non recedere*.

J. F. B-B.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

I. ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review (January 1915, Vol. lxviii, No. 122). SPENCER WOOD & CO., W. C. ASHLEY Towards reunion: a Nonconformist view—H. F. HAMILTON The Church and the Ministry—A. C. BELL Some suggestions about religious education—M. JONES The Church in Wales after disestablishment—A. C. HEDDERLEY Church reconstruction: the worship of the Church—R. VAUGHAN The scientific and official doctrines of death—W. C. HOSKIN The early Passion history—The War, Peace and after—F. W. FEARER How is Greek to be kept alive?—SHORT notices.

The Review of Theology (January 1915, Vol. xvi, No. 2). WILLIAMS & NORGATE. L. F. JACKS International control of war finances—E. KEYS The new imperialism—FISHBY OF CARLISLE On some parallels between a league of nations and a reunion of churches—J. M. WILSON WILKES, another Archbishop's Committee on the teaching office of the Church—J. M. THOMPSON Christian Faith—J. R. FRATT Again what is Christianity?—C. LEOBE Ethics, nature, and the soul—C. G. MONTEFIORE An ancient engagement of Providence—J. R. MURPHY The distinctive excellence of the First Gospel—C. F. TREVING American society after the War—J. MURFITT Twisted savings—R. H. U. BROWN The distal preacher—D. MAXWELLIAN Presbyterian reunion: the chief articles—DISCUSSION, SURVEY, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, December 1915, Eighth Series, No. 101. HODDER & STOUGHTON. J. R. CAMERON The mystery of Christ—F. J. POWICKE Forward Bland and German—T. H. ROBINSON Why was Jesus a Jew?—G. S. STELLATHAM St Cyprian, bishop and martyr: his place in the history of the Church.

(January 1916, Eighth Series, No. 102). A. T. ROBERTSON Battle has the friend of the friendless—B. W. BACON St Paul to the Laodiceans—A. E. GARVE The glory in the Fourth Gospel—J. M. THOMPSON Accidental disengagement in the Fourth Gospel—J. A. ROBERTSON The Passion journey—A. MARKERSTEIN Jews and Judaism in the earliest Christian apologetics.

February 1919 (Eighth Series, No. 98). G. HARFORD The Prince of Peace—A. MARMORSTEIN Jews and Judaism in the earliest Christian apologies—A. T. ROBERTSON Our Lord's command to baptize—J. A. ROBERTSON Another chapter of testimony about the Passion journey of Jesus—H. A. A. KENNEDY Philo's relation to the Old Testament.

March 1919 (Eighth Series, No. 99). G. G. FINDLAY God the inevitable—J. A. ROBERTSON A third chapter of testimony concerning the road to Jerusalem—W. H. P. HATCH An allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem in the Fourth Gospel—H. A. A. KENNEDY Philo on man's yearning for God—V. BURCH Some suggestions on the text and interpretation of Matthew xvi 18, 19—J. MOFFATT Expository notes on Acts.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1919 (Vol. xxiii, No. 1: University of Chicago Press). A. E. GARVIE The present problem of the supply and the training of the Christian Ministry in England—J. M. MECKLIN The War and the dilemma of the Christian ethic—L. H. JORDAN The study of the history of religions in the Italian universities—C. C. TORREY Fact and fancy in theories concerning Acts—C. E. PARK Possibilities of beauty in the congregational order—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1919 (Vol. xvii, No. 1: Princeton University Press). W. B. GREENE, JR. The present crisis in Ethics—G. JOHNSON Christian education and presbyterian tradition—B. B. WARFIELD The 'higher life' movement—J. R. SMITH Prayer—H. W. HULBERT Princeton Seminary's first foreign missionary—C. WADSWORTH, JR. Heroes—R. D. WILSON Notes and notices—Reviews of recent literature.

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DOCUMENTS

ST MAXIMUS OF TURIN *CONTRA IVDAEOS*.

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE VERONA MS (LI [49]).

WITH his contemporaries Leo of Rome and Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna, with Augustine a generation before him and Caesarius of Arles a generation or two after him, Maximus makes up the group of the great preachers of the early Western Church. Any *Homiliarium*, or general collection of sermons for the course of the Christian year, dating from pre-Carolingian times, is pretty sure to contain some of the homilies of Maximus. A systematic attempt to collect from their different sources all the scattered sermons and occasional writings of St Maximus was made in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when, under the special patronage of pope Pius VI, a superb folio was issued from the press of the Propaganda *Sancti Maximi episcopi Taurinensis Opera* . . . Romae MDCCLXXXIV. I can nowhere find in the volume the name of the editor, but Bardenhewer (*Patrologie*³ p. 465) gives it as Bruni: whoever he was, he took very considerable pains. His chief authorities, he tells us, were a MS at St Gall of the eighth century, a MS of the Sessoriana at Rome (the Sessoriani are now in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele) from Nonantola, of the seventh or eighth century, and a MS (C xcviij) of the Ambrosiana at Milan of the eighth century. He might well have added as a fourth the Verona MS LI (49) from which Dr Spagnolo and myself have drawn the sermons and treatises of St Maximus published in the JOURNAL, since, though the number of pieces is relatively small, the antiquity of the MS is greater than that of any of the three 'codices praecipui'. But in fact the editor had never seen the MS: Morosini, bishop of Verona, ordered all the necessary matter to be copied out for the Roman editor, but the copiers, presumably quailed before the difficulties of the task, for out of the

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leaves which contain sermons and treatises of St Maximus he only dealt with 80. What he took and what he left, and what therefore remained over for the late Dr Spagnolo and myself, will be made clearer by the following table.¹

Fol. 1 should come between fol. 39 and fol. 40; and was printed with fol. 40 ff in the JOURNAL for January 1915, see below.

Foll. 2-39 contain homilies on lections from the Gospels; but while they are, I think, continuous within their own limits, they lack both beginning and ending: something is lost before fol. 2 and something apparently after fol. 39, but how much it is impossible to say without knowledge of the quaternion signatures—if I am ever at Verona again, I shall hope to clear up this difficulty. These thirty-eight leaves purport to be reproduced in the 1784 edition, coll. 751-782; but it should be noted that the first homily of the MS, I suppose because it was imperfect, is printed last, coll. 778-782, and that one whole homily (foll. 16b-17b of the MS) is omitted. In about half of the twenty-three homilies a lacuna is marked, and to judge by our experience with other parts of this copyist's work, a good deal could probably still be deciphered by an expert student. The whole collection is labelled in the edition with the title *De capitulis evangeliorum*—not because any such title is found in the MS, but because Gennadius of Marseilles, *de vir. ill.* 41, tells us that Maximus 'de capitulis Evangeliorum et Actuum apostolorum multa sapienter exposuit'. As a matter of fact there does not seem any reason to doubt that these homilies on foll. 2-39 are organically connected with the series that follow on foll. 1, 40-77, though since there is a lacuna between the two series (i.e., as above stated, after fol. 39 and before fol. 1) we cannot establish the fact.²

Foll. 1, 40-77 contain the homilies on the festivals which were published for the first time in the JOURNAL (January and April 1915, April 1916; xvi 161-176, 314-322, xvii 225-235). The collection commences in the middle of a sermon for Christmas Day: there follow sermons for Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day (three), Pentecost; and these sermons for festivals of our Lord are continued without break by sermons for festivals of Saints, namely Innocents' Day, St John

¹ I have drawn in this description partly on Reifferscheid's *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica* I (pp. 99-104), Vienna 1870, supplemented by my own and Dr Spagnolo's notes. Unfortunately I have no notes of the gatherings of the MS.

² I record here the passages of the Gospels on which the sermons are based, in the hope that the information may assist in reconstructing the lectionary system of the time and district of St Maximus: Mt. x 3 or parallel, Mk. vi 38, Jo. vii 28, Mk. iv 14, Mk. vi 31, Mt. ix 18, Mt. ix 20, Lk. xi 27; [on the five loaves and two fishes: omitted in the edition]; Lk. xviii 10, Mt. xxi 1, Mt. xiv 20, Mk. xii 41, Jo. xi 1, Mt. xxvi 7, Mt. v 14, Mt. xvii 1, Lk. xii 50, Mk. ii 15, Lk. xv 12, Lk. xvi 19, Mk. viii 3, Mk. vii 25. The prominence of Marcan passages is noticeable.

Baptist, St Stephen, SS. Peter and Paul, St Cyprian, All Martyrs (three). Why this collection was not transcribed for the Roman edition one cannot tell; one might conjecture that the transcriber was foiled by the state of the MS, though I doubt if this is so very bad for the first few of this set of sermons. Anyhow the indications point clearly, as far as they go, to a compact series of some forty sermons, the larger number on the Sunday lections, the remainder for the great festivals of the Christian year and for certain Saints' days, occupying the first seventy-seven leaves of the MS.

Fol. 77 *b* closes with the title of a new work *Contra Iudaeos*, which covers all the next twenty-one leaves, ending on fol. 98 *b*. It was printed from this MS in the Roman edition, coll. 735-750, as the fifth and last of the *tractatus*, of St Maximus, and is reprinted on the present occasion in a far more adequate text. Some fifteen lines of the MS are all that have quite baffled Dr Spagnolo: we have had to mark only three gaps, while the eighteenth-century transcriber has twenty-two, some of them extending over nine or ten lines of the MS. Both the Roman edition and our own have, independently, inverted the order of the MS and given the treatise *Contra paganos* precedence over the companion treatise *Contra Iudaeos*: the motive was probably the same in both cases, namely, the expectation that the treatise against pagans would prove the more interesting of the two.

Fol. 98 *b* contains the commencement of the *Contra paganos*, which proceeds without break to its close on fol. 119 *a*, and is then, after the interval of a page (the intervening fragment appears to come from St Jerome), succeeded by a duplicate copy of the whole of the first two-thirds of the same treatise, foll. 119 *b*-132 *b*. It is difficult to explain the presence of this long doublet: it is certainly not a mere repetition, for the variations are sometimes serious, the first copy giving on occasion a different and longer text than the second. But in essentials the text is the same; and a careful scholar would of course have made use of both copies, if only to fill up the lacunae where the one was undecipherable from the clearer testimony of the other. In fact, in the portion common to the two copies there is only one passage (l. 283) where both are illegible, yet the Roman edition (coll. 721-734) neglects the second copy altogether. Both copies were used in the edition published in the JOURNAL, July 1916 (xvii 321-337).

Here ends the series of the writings of St Maximus.

Foll. 133 *a*-136 *a* contain a discourse which was printed in the JOURNAL for October 1911 (xiii pp. 19-28) under the title 'An Arian Sermon'.

Foll. 136 *a*-139 *b* give, according to Reifferscheid, a sermon of St Augustine, no. 350 in the Benedictine numeration.

Foll. 139 *b* to the end (fol. 157 *b*) contain a fragment of an otherwise

quite unknown version of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Canons*, beginning in the middle of a page of the MS and in the middle of a sentence of the 41st chapter of book viii of the *Constitutions* and going on from the *Constitutions* to the *Canons* without break, and so to the end of the full series of 85 Canons as we have them in the Greek text; and all this material was published in my *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (I i pp. 32 a-32 nn) in 1913.¹ Two points, however, need to be noted. In the first place a gap occurs between foll. 151 and 152, caused by the loss of at least one leaf: in the JOURNAL for July 1915 (xvi p. 524) I gave reasons for conjecturing that not one but two leaves had disappeared, intentionally removed because of the presence of a highly unorthodox epilogue after Canon 50 (in the ordinary numeration), but of course inspection of the gatherings of the MS ought to clear up the doubt. In the second place the Canons themselves do not quite conclude the whole matter: they are followed by three pages of postscript, as it were, giving a list of the apostles and some of the other early disciples, with the locality of the preaching and death of each, and similar information about the place of writing of the Gospels. This was not deciphered in time to be printed in my *Monumenta*, nor had I supposed (what I now think to be probable) that this supplementary material really belonged to the Greek text of the *Constitutions* and *Canons* as the Latin translator found it before him: it was edited in the JOURNAL, October 1913 (xv pp. 63-65).

The whole MS thus falls into two parts: the principal portion is a collection of sermons and treatises of St Maximus, consisting now of 132 leaves, but imperfect at the beginning and with another gap between foll. 39 and 40; the secondary portion, whose connexion with the first is not easy to see, consisting now of 25 and originally perhaps of 27 leaves, and even so not homogeneous in its contents.

¹ A preliminary draft of parts of the text appeared earlier in *J. T. S.*

C. H. TURNER.

CONTRA IVDAEOS |
QVI SVNT SECVNDVM LITTERAM IVDAEI
NON SECVNDVM SPIRITVM

I. Adhortatur nos ratio *ueritatis*, fratres, aliquantulum prae *nostro uigore contra Iudaeos* uel *de Iudaeis* cum uestra Sanctitate conferre.

Et primo illud mihi ostendendum uidetur, quod hic populus a mundi *in*itio diuina prouidentia reprobatur et sequens populus eligitur adque *ad*sumitur ex gentibus, id est populus *christianus*. et ut certius adpro- 5 betur quod dicimus, ab ipso primo homine Adam dicendi sumamus exordium.

Adam genuit Cain et Abel. Cain maior natu populum designabat Iudaeorum: iste repellitur ob facinus suum, et Abel minor natu adsumitur, qui populum christianum ostendebat. reprobauit enim Deus 10 sacrificia Cain, et Abel sacrificium adsumpsit. occiditur ipse Abel a Cain, et nascitur alius filius Adae in loco eius nomine Seth. considera mysterium: Abel 'luctus' interpretatur, Seth 'resurrectio'. ergo hic in istis duobus fratribus minoribus | passio, id est mors, et resurrectio Christi significabatur, in qua consistit populus christianus. deinde 15 populus prior periit in diluzio, *et de progenie* iusta, id est de illo Seth *fratre* Abel, seruatur Noe, qui in *arca*, *id* est in aeclesiae typo, cum suis *cognatis* adipiscitur munera. deinde dicitur ad Abraham EXI DE TERRA TVA ET DE COGNATIONE TVA ET DE DOMO PATRIS TVI ET EFFICIAM TE IN GENTEM MAGNAM. uides quia mandatur ei ut relinquat priores 20 errores et uetusta uitia et EXEAT inde, EFFICIATURQUE IN GENTEM MAGNAM id est in populo fideli christiano toto terrarum orbe diffuso: unde scribtura adnuntiabat dicens ERITIS GENTES IN CAPVT, christiani, INCREDVLVS AVTEM POPVLVS IN CAVDA, id est Iudaei. genuit Abraham duos filios, Smahel et Isaac: Smahel maior natu fuit ex ancilla Agar, 25 Isaac minor natu ex libera Sarra, quod apostolus noster Paulus, qui et ipse ex Iudaeis crediderat, | dicebat; IAM NON SVMVS ANCILLAE FILII SED LIBERAE, QVA LIBERTATE CHRISTVS NOS LIBERAVIT. Isaac iterum et ipse genuit duos filios, maiorem natu Esau, minorem natu Iacob; et dicit scribtura Deum dixisse in Genesi Rebeccae DVAE 30

fol. 77 b: fol. 78 a IVD EI V

L. 1. adhoratur V pre V 2. iudeis V 5. ex: et uel ei ut uid V 9. iudeorum V 14. fol. 78 b passio . . . uides (l. 20): *has undecim codicis lineas legere non ualuit qui Romanae editionis causa contulit* 16. dilubio V (proge)niae V 20. ei: et ut uid V 23. christiani: *praemittendum id est, cf. lineam sequentem* 24. iudei V 27. iudeis V fol. 79 a 28. libere V qua libertate . . . odio habui (l. 33): *item hic nouem codicis lineas om ed Rom* 30. rebecca V

L. 18. Gen. xii 1, 2: Cypr. Test. i 21 (ed. Hartel 54. 2) 23. Deut. xxviii 44: Cypr. Test. i 21 (55. 10) 27. Gal. iv 31, v 1 30. Gen. xxv 23, 24 (Cypr. Test. i 19), Rom. ix 12, 13

GENTES IN VTERO TVO SVNT ET DVO POPVLI DE VENTRE TVO DIVIDENTVR, ET POPVLVS POPVLVM SVPERABIT ET MAIOR SERV/ET MINORI, et iterum IACOB DILEXI ESAV AVTEM ODIO HABVI. uides quia prior reicitur et sequens adsumitur. et ipse Iacob benedicit filios Ioseph filii sui
 35 minoris: iam intellegis et in Ioseph minori filio populum christianum ostendi. benedicit ergo Iacob illos duos pueros et ponit MANVM LEVAM id est sinistram SVPER CAPVT maioris natu et DEXTERAM SVPER CAPVT minoris, ut ostenderet minorem futurum esse honorabiliorem adque MAIOREM. Moyses quoque accipit tabulas et propter culpam populi
 40 proicit eas; secundo alias conscribas accipit et reservat adque sacris uoluminibus | adnotat, unde 'Deuteronomium' appellatur, hoc est secunda lex.

II. Iste est Moyses qui de Christo dicebat PROPHETAM VOBIS SVSCITABIT DOMINVS DE FRATRIBVS VESTRIS SICVT ME: ILLVM AUDITE. ERIT ENIM OMNIS ANIMA QVAE NON AUDIERIT PROPHETAM ILLVM INTERIET DE POPVLO SVO. PROPHETAM dixit Christum, quia propheta
 5 est sui Patris et Dei: Dominus autem et Deus est omnis creaturae.

De ipso dicebat iterum Moyses in libro Geneseos IN PRINCIPIO FECIT DEVS CAELVM ET TERRAM: hic PRINCIPIVM. Filium taxans, IN quo DEVS Pater FECIT CAELVM ET TERRAM. quod apostolus noster Paulus Moysi prosecutionem adtestans dicebat QVIA IN Christo CREATA SVNT OMNIA
 10 QVAE SVNT IN CAELIS ET QVAE SVNT IN TERRA, VISIBILIA ET INVISIBILIA, SIVE SEDES SIVE DOMINATIONES et cetera quae ibi sequuntur. IN PRINCIPIO ERGO FECIT DEVS CAELVM ET TERRAM: PRINCIPIVM Christus est, qui dicebat per Solomonem DOMINVS CREAVIT ME PRINCIPIVM | VIARVM SVARVM IN OPERA SVA, ANTE SAECVLA FVNDAVIT et cetera. quid?
 15 Solomon ANTE SAECVLVM CREATVS est aut FVNDATVS est? aut ipse ADERAT Deo Patri CVM PARARET CAELVM? sed Christus Dominus, Filius Dei, ipse ista per prophetam loquebatur; ad quem in fabrica mundi, ut Moyses iterum memorat, Pater dicebat FIAT LVX, et FACTA EST LVX: FIAT FIRMAMENTVM, et FACTVM EST FIRMAMENTVM: FIANT
 20 LVMINARIA IN FIRMAMENTO CAELI SIC VT LVCEANT SVPER TERRAM, et FECIT DVO LVMINARIA, MAIUS ET MINVS, LVMINARE MAIUS IN INCOATIONEM DIEI ET LVMINARE MINVS IN INCOATIONEM NOCTIS: ergo DEVS DIXIT, et DEVS FECIT. audi adhuc: DIAT DEVS FACIAMVS HOMINEM

32. superavit V serviet: servus et ut uid V 33. dilexit ut uid V
 36. ostendit V 40. proiecit V² (saec. x-xi) reserbat V 41. fol. 79b
 adnotat . . . dicebat (II 1: tres codicis lineas om ed Rom)

II. 2. suscitavit V 4. prophetam V propheta V 9. adtestas ut uid V
 13. craecavit V fol. 80a 14. ante saecula (fortasse legendum saeculum) . . .
 fiat (I. 19): ex octo codicis lineis paucissima servavit ed Rom 16. adherat V
 17. prophetam V fabricam mundi V ut uid 23. dicit ut uid V

33. Rom. ix 13, Mal. i 2, 3 36. Gen. xlviii 14, 19 39. Exod. xxxii, xxxiv
 II. 1. Deut. xviii 15, Act. iii 23 6. Gen. i 1 9. Col. i 16 13. Prov. viii 22, 23
 16. Prov. viii 27 18. Gen. i 3 19. Gen. i 6, 7 Gen. i 14, 16 23. Gen. i 26, 27

AD IMAGINEM ET SIMILITVDINEM NOSTRAM, et FECIT DEVS HOMINEM, AD IMAGINEM DEI FECIT ILLVM. dicit forte Iudæus 'Ad angelos Deus 25 dixit': conuincitur in eo quod dicitur ET DEVS FECIT HOMINEM, non enim 'Angeli' dixit 'fecerunt', sed DEVS inquit FECIT HOMINEM. DEVS DIXIT et DEVS FECIT, id est Pater imperauit et Filius adimpleuit. |

Et illud considera quod scriptum est de Abraham, quia APPARVIT ILLI DEVS AD QVERCV MAMBRAE: et postmodum habet scribtura in 30 exustione Sodomæ et Gomorrae quod DOMINVS A DOMINO PLVERIT IGNE ET SVLFVR SVPER easdem ciuitates. ergo est Pater et Filius: A quo Patre, id est ex cuius iussione, PLVIT Filius IGNE ET SVLFVREM.

In Filio ergo FECIT DEVS CAELVM ET TERRAM qui erat ante caelum et terram. non enim 'primo omnium' FECIT DEVS CAELVM ET TERRAM: 35 nonne ante facti sunt angeli, arcangeli, omnesque spiritalis uirtutes et potestates? ergo quod ait. IN PRINCIPIO FECIT DEVS CAELVM ET TERRAM, IN Christo dixisse declaratur. ex cuius persona et Dauid dicebat VERBO DOMINI CAELI FIRMATI SVNT ET SPIRITV ORIS EIVS OMNIS VIRTVS EORVM. iste est Filius Dei de quo iterum ipse Dauid dicebat 40 in secundo psalmo DOMINVS DIXIT AD ME, FILIVS MEVS ES TV, EGO HODIE GENVI TE. uide, secundum mysterium in secundo psalmo hoc dicitur: | *post Deum* patrem secundus filius nominatur, unus et unus. sed dicit Iudæus 'Ergo habet Deus Filium? credendum est hoc?' audi: habuit certissime Deus Filium, quem genuit non sicut homines, 45 sed sicut decuit Deo generare, impassibiliter incorruptibiliter deifice. unus unum genuit, solus solum, Deus Deum, rex regem, ingenitus unigenitus, Pater Filium, auctor uerbum, creator creatorem, aeternus aeternum, Spiritus Spiritum, lux lucem, splendor splendorem, pius pius, bonus bonum, misericors misericordem, perfectus perfectum. 50

Ad hunc Filium iterum Dauid loquebatur dicens THRONVS TVVS DEVS IN SAECVLVM SAECVLI, VIRGA AEQVITATIS VIRGA REGNI TVI: DILEXISTI IVSTITIAM ET ODISTI INIQVITATEM, PROPTEREA VNIXIT TE DEVS DEVS TVVS. uides quia ad Deum loquens dicebat ei VNIXIT TE DEVS DEVS TVVS; id est 'te filium unxit pater tuus', illo VNGVENTO aeternæ 55 LAETITIAE, aeterni sacramenti et caelestis mysterii. |

Audi adhuc ipsum Dauid in *alio loco* referentem et dicentem DIXIT DOMINVS DOMINO MEO SEDE A DEXTRIS MEIS. quem DOMINVM habuit iste rex, ad quem DOMINVS suus Deus dixerat SEDE A DEXTRIS MEIS?

25. iudeus V 28. adimplebit V 29. fol. 80 b 33. sulfurem V: *sed rectius sulfur l. 32* 43. fol. 81 a post deum . . . habuit (l. 45): *defecerunt prima uerba, certa sunt reliqua, quae tamen fere omnia omisit ed Rom* 44. iudeus V 46. deifice ut uid V, cf. X 17: de se ipso ed Rom 54. unxit . . . unxit V *sed unxit l. 53* 55. aeternae V 57. fol. 81 b alio loco coniecta, cf. VII 12: *mutius est V*

29. Gen. xviii 1 31. Gen. xix 24 34. Gen. i 1 39. Ps. xxxii (xxxiii), 6 41. Ps. ii 7 51. Ps. xlv (xlv), 7, 8 57. Ps. cix (cx) 1

60 quis est DOMINVS ad quem dixerat Deus Pater, nisi dominus noster Christus Filius eius?

Nam et iterum audi de Christo 'suo' Patrem dicentem PARAVI LVCERNAM CHRISTO MEO, INIMICOS EIVS INDVAM CONFVSIONEM. PARAVI LVCERNAM CHRISTO MEO, id est aeclesiam lumine eius splendentem
65 adque ardentem, fidelium numerum qui lumine ueritatis et credulitatis in corde percepto incredulitatis et ignorantiae tenebras derelinquit. PARAVI LVCERNAM CHRISTO MEO: iterum in Iohannem sanctum dici intellegimus LVCERNAM populum inluminantem.

III. De isto Domino saluatore et de eius aduentu in carne futuro et Eseias sanctissimus loquebatur: CONFORTAMINI inquit MANVS RESOLVTAE ET GENVA DEBILIA, et post pauca ait DEVS NOSTER IVDICIUM RETRIBVET, | IPSE VENIET, SALVABIT NOS, TVNC APERIENTVR OCVLI
5 CAECORVM ET AVRES SVRDORVM AVDIENT. et cetera. et Ieremias dicebat de Christo HIC DEVS NOSTER, NON AESTIMATVR ALTER AD ALTERVM, QVI INVENIT OMNEM VIAM PRVDENTIAE ET DEDIT EAM IACOB PVERO SVO ET ISRAHEL DILECTO SIBI: POST HAEC IN TERRIS VISVS EST ET INTER HOMINES CONVERSATVS EST. utique non Deus Pater VISVS EST ET
10 CONVERSATVS INTER HOMINES, sed Filius Deus, de cuius incarnationis aduentu iterum Eseias adnuntiabat dicens REVELABIT DEVS BRACHIVM SVVM ILLVM SANCTVM IN CONSPECTV OMNIVM GENTIVM ET VIDEBVT OMNES GENTES IPSVM SVPER TERRAM SALVTAREM A DEO. adhuc autem repetit iterum et dicit ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET IN VTERVM ET PARIET
15 FILIVM ET VOCABITIS NOMEN EIVS EMMANVHEL, QVOD EST INTERPRETATVM NOBISCVM DEVS. NOBISCVM DEVS, id est Deus in homine, Verbum in carne, Maiestas in corpore. DESCENDIT SICVT PLVIA IN VELLVS, non cum ambitu, | non cum strepitu, sed rex caelestis humilis mundum ingressus est, triumphos immortalitatis et pacis omnibus donaturus.
20 corpus humanum adsumsit, ut suum fulgorem interim per uelamen corporis obumbraret et ad hominem Deus per interpretem hominem loqueretur. in illo templo corporis Deus erat, ut mortalem hominem faceret inmortalem.

Sed non credit Iudaeus haec, sed nec paganus: nec uirginem

66. derelinquit: *praem* non (*innito codice*) *ed Rom*

III. 1. saluatore V 2. resolute V 4. fol. 82 a saluabit V 5. Ieremias V: Baruch *ed Rom* 9. utique *scripsi*: ut idem *ut uid* V; *malis fortasse* itidem 10. deus V: dei *ed Rom*, *fortasse melius* 11. reuelauit V 12. illum V *cum Cypr.* Test. 13. ipsum super terram V *et ipse ut puto S. Maximus: legendum tamen cum Cypr.* ipsa suprema terrae 18. bellus V fol. 82 b 24. iudeus V

62. Ps. cxxxi (cxxxii) 17, 18 68. Io. v 35

III. 2. Is. xxxv 3-5: *Cypr.* Test. ii 7 (71. 17) 6. Baruch iii 36-38: *Cypr.* Test. ii 6 (69. 6) 11. Is. lii 10: *Cypr.* Test. ii 4 (66. 8) 14. Is. vii 14: *Cypr.* Test. ii 9 (74. 5) 15. Matt. i 23: *Cypr.* Test. ii 6 (71. 13) 17. Ps. lxxi (lxxii) 6

genuisse sine uiri coniunctione credunt. audiant et credant de natiui-²⁵
tate saluatoris ex uirgine sanctum angelum missum a Deo Patre dixisse
ad ipsam sanctissimam uirginem Mariam SPIRITVS SANCTVS inquit
SVPERVENIET IN TE ET VIRTVS ALTISSIMI OBUMBRABIT TIBI, IDEOQVE ET
QVOD NASCETVR EX TE SANCTVM VOCABITVR FILIVS DEI. carnem hu-
manam de sancta Maria adsumsit ille SPIRITVS immaculatus, id est Filius³⁰
Dei, mundus SANCTVS securus; | ipse sibi sua potentia et possibilitate
carnem effecit. si enim hoc aliquantis auibus dedit, ut de uento aut de
puluere concipiant sine maribus et generent, quanto magis ipse sibi, ut
dictum est, potuit corpus fabricare? et si iterum aues de ovis obumbrati-
one alarum animatos pullos producunt, et terra sine coitu producit³⁵
aliquanta animalia, ut uermes et cetera, quanto magis Deus potuit sibi
inter homines mirabilibus modis templum construere corporis sui?
qui si uoluisset, et ex lapide uel ligno uel aqua uel terra posset sibi
corpus efficere, utpote qui et primum hominem Adam EX LIMO TERRAE
plasmauerat. sed ideo uoluit de homine carnem humanam adsumere,⁴⁰
ut ostenderet se pro hominibus aduenisse. nam et nasci propterea ad
similitudinem nostram et mori uoluit adque resurgere, ut et nos et mori
et iterum resurgere in semetipso | monstraret adque spem nobis futurae
resurrectionis ostenderet.

Sed dicit Iudaeus 'Ergo ex femina habuit nasci Deus?' caro⁴⁵
Christi ex femina nata est quam Deus fecit, nec pollui potuit maiestas
Christi in carne. si enim sol fulgens non inquinatur tactu quolibet,
multo magis Dominus solis inquinari non potuit licet mundus mundam
tetigerit. hunc ipsum habemus itineris ducem quia VIA est AD PATREM,
lucis principem quia VERITAS est qui nobis lumen ueritatis infudit,⁵⁰
salutis auctorem quia QVOD FACTVM EST IN EO VITA EST, qui cum Patre
VIVIFICAT omnia; per ipsum Deo Patri semper gratias agimus, fratres.

IV. Sed adhuc increduli Iudaei audent aliquotiens et fidei christianae
uelle detrudere et fideli Dei populo insultare. unde denuo recensenda
sunt nobis diuina uolumina, quae eos aperta ueritate confundant, ut in-
tellegant manifeste sese sine spe et sine | fide esse. isti sunt Iudaei quos
clara uoce sanctus Stefanus increpabat dicens DVRA CERVICE ET INCIR-⁵
CVMCISI CORDE ET AVRIBVS, VOS SEMPER SPIRITVI SANCTO RESISTITIS,

26. saluatoris V 28. obumbravit V 31. securus: ita ut uid V fol. 83 a
33. generent scripsi: cernerent ed Rom et ut uid V 34. obis V 40. sed . . .
de homine: uix legi potest, unde om (sed sine lacunae indicio) ed Rom 43. fol. 83 b
46. potuit V: potest ed Rom 48. mundam ut uid V: fortasse legendum mundum
51. qui: fortasse legendum quia

IV. 1. christiane V 3. ut V: et ed Rom 4. fol. 84 a iudei V 6. corde
V: cordibus ed Rom

27. Lc. i 35: Cypr. Test. ii 10 (75. 11) 39. Gen. ii 7 49. Io. xiv 6
51. Io. i 4 52. Io. v 21, cf. i Tim. vi 13

IV. 5. Act. vii 51, 52

SICVT ET PATRES VESTRI. QVEM ENIM PATRES VESTRI PROPHETARVM NON PERSECVTI SVNT? ET OCCIDERVNT QVI ADVNTIABANT EIS DE ADVENTV IVSTI, CVIVS ET VOS PRODITORES ET INTERFECTORES ESTIS. haec
 10 sanctus Stefanus ait. de quibus dicit et beatus apostolus Paulus SEMPER DISCENTES ET NVMQVAM AD VERITATIS SCIENTIAM PERVENIENTES: SICVT ENIM IANNES ET MAMBRES RES7/TERVNT MOYSI, ITA ET HII RESISTVNT VERITATI, HOMINES CORRVP TI MENTE, SENSU REPROBI.

Dicunt enim 'Nos circumcisionem habemus et filii sumus Abrahæ'.
 15 quibus merito Dominus dicebat SI FILII ABRAHAE ESSETIS, OPERA VTIQVE ABRAHAE FACERETIS. 'Circumcisionem' inquit 'habemus'. quibus dicimus: Vtinam haberetis circumcisionem cordis et non dehonestationem corporis, utinam haberetis odorem | fidei Abrahæ et non bromositatem perfidia e uestrae. uos FILII estis potius VIPERARVM in
 20 uobis ipsis uenena portantes, qui parentibus infertis necem, et ex hoc ipso quo alios occiditis uobis ipsis interitum praeparatis. de uobis, o Iudaei, dicit propheta Dauid ERRAVERVNT A VENTRE, LOCVTI SVNT FALSA, IRA ILLIS SECVNDVM SIMILITVDINEM SERPENTIS; et apostolus noster Paulus ait QVORVM DEVS VENTER EST ET GLORIA IN CONFVSIONE
 25 EORVM, QVI TERRENA SAPIVNT. ergo ERRAVERVNT A VENTRE, LOCVTI SVNT FALSA, IRA ILLIS SECVNDVM SIMILITVDINEM SERPENTIS, qui uipereis morsibus uiscera parentum sanguinemque fundentes et sceleris uestri lubrico dilapsi in alienis uulneribus uoluebamini, quique legis praecepta contemnendo per uarias criminum culpas uelut per praecipitia
 30 multa diuersibus casibus conruistis.

Vide iam si potes quam foedus sit quamque turpis qui se sanguine conmaculat alieno: nam legimus uiperas ex immundis cineribus nasci, quia cinus est et cor istorum, quod nullum in se flammei luminis contineat intellectum, nec perspicuum ueritatis candorem uel calorem
 35 ostendat. ait Dominus ad eos VOS DE DIABOLO PATRE NATI ESTIS ET DESIDERIA PATRIS VESTRI FACERE VULTIS: nam et diabolus in serpente mutatus fallacibus linguis nouorum hominum piam rudemque innocentiam in paradisso factiosa malignitate decepit. cuius et isti insaniam subsecuti, SERPENTINA GENERATIO nunc usque Christum Filium Dei

7. uestri 1° V: + ita et uos *ed Rom* prophetarum V *tr* prophetarum non sunt persecuti patres uestri *ed Rom* 8. pronuntiabant *ed Rom* 9. cuius V: huius *per incuriam ed Rom* 12. Iamnes *ed Rom* resisterunt *ut uid V* 17. circumcisionem . . . utinam haberetis V: *om per homoeoteleuton ed Rom* 18. fol. 84 b 19. bromositatem V: *om ed Rom; uerbum alibi inauditum agnoscit ne nouus quidem Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, sed bromosus idem est ac fetidus* 21. praeparatis V 22. propheta V bentre V 29. contemnendo V³: temnendo V², fortasse recte precipitia V 31. fedus V fol. 85 a 32. alieno V: aliorum *ed Rom* uiperas . . . calorem (l. 34) V: *uix unum et alterum uerbum habet ed Rom*

11. 2 Tim. iii 7, 8 15. Io. viii 39 19. Cf. Matt. iii 7 etc 22. Ps. lvii 4 (lviii 3) 24. Phil. iii 19 35. Io. viii 44 36. Gen. iii 1-5

negare conatur : contra quos, auxiliante ipso Domino Christo, hanc 40
disputationem suscepimus.

Quibus adhuc dicendum est : Quid uobis adsumitis dicere patrem
uestrum Abraham, et eius circumcisionem uos adseritis suscepisse?
Abraham fide iustificatus est, non circumcisione : ita enim Dicit scrib-
TVRA, CREDIDIT ABRAHAM DEO ET DEPVTATVM EST ILLI | AD IUSTITIAM, 45
ET AMICVS DEI APPELLATVS EST. ergo Abraham non ex circumcisione
iustificatus est sed ex fide ; credidit enim uerbis Dei et iustificatus est,
et benedictionem a Deo consecutus est et ipse et semen fidei eius.
nam considera, ne putes circumcisionem signum esse fidelium : ante
Abraham omnes sancti incircumcisi fuerunt et puritate mentis Domino 50
placuerunt et populum christianum magis ipsi in se monstrarunt. per-
curre ordinem in sacrosanctis litteris positum, et inuenies omnes ita esse
ut dicimus. primo ipse Adam, qui manibus Dei plasmatus est, incir-
cumcisis permansit, deinde Abel iustus, Enos et Enhoc, Noe et Mel-
cisedech SACERDOS SVMMI DEI : isti omnes neque circumcisi, ut 55
diximus, secundum carnem fuerunt, neque discretiones escarum
habuerunt. nam de Abraham quod circumcisionem dicitur accepisse,
illa circumcisio non habet premium salutis | sed signum datum fuerat
generis ; circumcisio uero salutaris cordis est, per quam interioris ho-
minis circumcisionem et exterior homo custoditur a uitiiis. nam 60
aduerte : dictum fuerat ad Iesum filium Naue ut faceret CVRTELLOS EX
PETRA ET SECVNDO circumcideret FILIOS ISRAHEL. SECVNDO : quid
habuit iam primo circumcisis abscondere ? sed spiritaliter intellegi
oportet, quia per legem, id est per praecepta legis, circumcisis ab idolo-
rum cultu oportet SECVNDO per aeuangelium circumcidi. 65

V. Dicunt adhuc Iudaei 'Filii sumus Abrahae'. quibus dicimus :
Filii Abrahae estis, sed ex ancilla, de qua scriptum est EICE ANCILLAM
ET FILIVM EIVS, NON ENIM HERES ERIT FILIVS ANCILLAE CVM FILIO
LIBERAE. nos in gloria Dei FILII LIBERAE SVMVS ; uester Ismahel
pater est unde genus ducitis, noster uero pater Isaac est unde ducimus 5
genus—IN ISAAC inquit VOCABITVR TIBI SEMEN—ille sanctissimus Isaac,

42. quid V : quod *ed Rom* 44. circumcisionem V 45. fol. 85 b 47. uerbis
V : uerbo *ed Rom* 51. populum christianum magis V : *legendum fortasse* populi
christiani imaginem 53. primo V : primus *ed Rom* 55. isti V : iusti *ed Rom*
58. fol. 86 a 59. circumcisio . . . abscondere (l. 63) : octo linearum uix ullae
reliquiae exstant in ed Rom 62. circumcideret et V ut uid 64. precepta V
circumcisis V : circumcidi *ed Rom*

V. 4. libere V 5. uero V : om *ed Rom*

44. Rom. iv 3, Iac. ii 23, Gen. xv 6 53. Cf. *Cypr.* Test. i 8 Item quod Adam
primus a Deo factus incircumcisis et Abel iustus et Enoch . . . et Noe . . . et
Melchisedech sacerdos 55. Gen. xiv 18 61. Ios. v 2-4 : *Cypr.* Test. i 8
V. 2. Gal. iv 30 (Gen. xxi 10) 4. Gal. iv 31 6. Gen. xxi 12, Rom. ix 7

quem desiderantibus parentibus | et aëuo iam fessis ad solacium senec-
tutis Dominus promiserat nasciturum. iste est Isaac qui 'typum'
domini 'Christi portabat', de quo dicitur quia IN SEMINE TVO BENEDI-
10 CENTVR OMNES GENTES : NON DIXIT IN SEMINIBVS TAMQVAM IN MVLTIS,
SED IN SEMINE TVO, QVOD EST CHRISTVS. iste est sanctissimus Isaac
qui patiens ad uictimam ducebatur, clementissimi patris præcipua
proles, qui, ut diximus, Christi imaginem gestans, nec genitoris imperio
contradixit nec uictimam suscipere recusauit. ergo iste pater noster
15 probatur.

Vestra Hierusalem terrena ciuitas mater est, nostra HIERUSALEM
caelestis ciuitas MATER : illa uestra quæ periit, hæc nostra quæ per-
manet. semper uos priores, nos sequentes, quia Estmahel prior, deinde
Isaac, quia QVI PRIMI NOVISSIMI ET QVI NOVISSIMI PRIMI. scribuntur est
20 ERITIS GENTES IN CAPVT, INCREDVLVS AVTEM POPVLVS IN CAUDA.

Nam et ipse Isaac duos filios genuit, Esau et Iacob, | de quibus
dictum fuerat ad Rebeccam coniugem Isaac diuino responso DVÆ
GENTES IN VTERO TVO SVNT ET DVO POPVLI DE VENTRE TVO DIVIDENTVR
ET POPVLVS POPVLVM SVPERABIT ET MAIOR SERVIET MINORI, quia IACOB,
25 INQVAM, DILEXI ESAV AVTEM ODIO HABVI. sed hoc iam superius
memoratum est.

Nam ipse etiam Iacob duas describitur habuisse uxores, unam 'Liam
maiolem' natu 'oculis infirmam', aliam 'Rachel minorem speciosam'.
illa Lia figuram 'synagogae' portabat, infirma, ut dictum est, oculis.
30 quare infirma oculis? quia uisus synagogae languebat, et se in filiis
infidelibus saepe plangebatur. hæc uero Rachel, quæ 'figuram portabat
æcclesiae', de qua scribuntur est SPECIOSI OCULI TVI SICVT COLUMBAE, et
iterum noster apostolus Paulus dicit de ea NON HABENS MACVLAM AVT
RVGAM AVT ALIQVID HVIVSMODI : huius perspicuus et spiritalis fuerat
35 uisus.

7. fol. 86 b et aëuo . . . portabat (l. 9) : *lineæ codicis tres deficiunt in ed Rom*
aëuo V 10. seminibus . . . sed in : *om per homoeoarcton? ed Rom* 12. præ-
cipua V 14. suscipere V : *fortasse legendum suscipi se recusabit V* 17. quæ V
18. estmahel V, cf. Istrahel pro Israhel : et ismael *ed Rom* 21. fol. 87 a
22. reueccam V 24. superauit V 25. hoc : hæc ut uid V ; nisi malis hæc
. . . memorauimus 31. infidelibus scripsi cum *ed Rom* : infidelis V sepe V

8. Gen. xvii 16-21 [Cypr.] de montibus Sina et Sion 3 (app. 106. 21) 'Isaac
. . . typum in se portabat Christi' 9. Gen. xxii 18 10. Gal. iii 16
16. terrena ciuitas : *libros S. Augustini de ciuitate Dei respicit noster?* 17. Gal. iv 26
19. Matt. xx 16 etc 20. Deut. xxviii 44 : *Cypr. Test. i 21* 22. Gen. xxv 23 :
Cypr. Test. i 19; [Cypr.] de montibus 3 24. Mal. i 2, 3, Rom. ix 13 : de
montibus 6 25. Cf. I 28-33 *supra* 27. Gen. xxix 16, 17 *Cypr. Test. i 20*
'Iacob accepit uxores duas, maiorem Liam oculis infirmioribus typum synagogae,
minorem speciosam Rachel typum ecclesiae' 31. [Cypr.] de montibus 3 'Rebecca
figuram portat ecclesiae' 32. Cant. i 15 33. Eph. v 27

Nam et illud quod in mysterio loquitur apostolus, intellege | quam populo christiano conueniat : PRIMVS inquit HOMO DE TERRA TERRENVS, SECVNDVS VERO HOMO DE CAELO CAELESTIS ; QVALIS TERRENVS TALES ET TERREN/, ET QVALIS CAELESTIS TALES ET CAELESTES. et lex secundum litteram a uobis accipitur, a nobis uero secundum spiritum quia LITTERA 40 OCCIDIT SPIRITVS AVTEM VIVIFICAT. Moyses namque (quod commemorauimus) accipiens priores tabulas confractas proiecit, ideo ut ostenderet uestrum lapideum cor confractum et reprobatum, christianorum uero diuinis legibus aptum adque seruandum. unde dicit scribura de christiano populo QVI OSTENDVNT OPVS LEGIS CONSCRIPTVM IN CORDIBVS 45 SVIS. cognoscens omnia haec, et ex lege et prophetis adhuc maiora considerans, sanctus apostolus Paulus separauit se a uobis, nec IVGVM CVM INFIDELIBVS ducere uoluit, quia non est SOCIETAS LVMINI AD TENEBRAS nec PARS FIDELI CVM INFIDELI. conuertit se ad Christum, maxime quia ab eo erat | admonitus ut ad incredulitatis furore discederet, nec 50 populum christianum ultra uexaret. tradidit se ergo Christo ut non iam sub Caesare sed sub Christo uiueret rege.

VI. Sed dicunt Iudaei 'Nos circumcisionem habemus pro signo salutis'. quibus dicimus: Si circumcisionem dicitis signum esse salutis, ergo feminae apud uos non habent signum salutis; apud nos autem in signo Domini omnes pariter masculi feminaeque signantur. in signo Domini signamur in fronte SVPER DVOS POSTES DE SANGVINE AGNI DEI 5 QVI TOLLIT PECCATA MVNDI.

De quo iam tunc in lege fuerat scriptum quod in sancto aeuangelio completum esse dinoscitur, quando clamabatis dicentes SANGVIS EIVS SVPER NOS ET SVPER FILIOS NOSTROS: sed nobis haec salubriter competit dicere 'Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros'; uobis ad con- 10 demnationem, nobis uero ad salutem, quia alio uos proposito, alio nos dicimus intellectu, uos furendo nos orando, | uos insultando nos suppliciter postulando, uos ex odio nos ex amore, uos VT TRISTES nos autem VT SEMPER GAUDENTES. uos latronem elegistis, quia OMNIS ANIMAL ad SIBI SIMILE conuertitur; nos Dominum elegimus, immo 15

36. fol. 87 b 39. terreni: terrenus V secundum V: praem quae ed Rom
40. a uobis V: om ed Rom a nobis . . . littera: om ed Rom 41. spiritus:
spiritum V namque quod V: nam ut ed Rom 44. seruandum: cf. I 40 reseruat
47. separabit V 50. fol. 88 a ab incredulitatis . . . non habent (VI 3): octo
codicis linearum uix hic et illic uestigia pauca retinet ed Rom

VI. 1. iudei V 3. femine V 4. in V: om ed Rom 12. fol. 88 b
13. suppliciter V 14. omnis . . . simile ut uid V dominum . . . quia V: domino
elegimus seruire nos ergo, inquit apostolus ed Rom

37. 1 Cor. xv 47, 48 40. 2 Cor. iii 6 41. Cf. I 39 supra 45. Rom. ii 15
47. 2 Cor. vi 14, 15

VI. 3. Cf. Cypr. Test. i 8 illud signaculum feminis non proficit, signo autem Domini omnes signantur 5. Exod. xii 7, Io. i 29 8. Matt. xxvii 25
13. 2 Cor. vi 10 14. Matt. xxvii 21, 22 etc Ecclus. xiii 15 (19)

magis Dominus nos elegit, quia DOMINI SVMVS. uos secuti estis latronem Domino inproperantem, nos secuti sumus latronem Dominum adorantem et confitentem in crucem: DOMINE inquit MEMOR ESTO MEI CVM VENERIS IN REGNV M TVVM, cui Dominus ait AMEN DICO TIBI, 20 HODIE MECVM ERIS IN PARADISSO. o beatum istum latronem, qui tantam repente meruit sanitatem et sub ipsa morte transiuit ad lucem. et isti duo latrones, unus uestram alter nostram ostendebat imaginem.

Occidistis Dominum, et gratulamini: occidistis quidem, sed non occidistis tamen; occidistis uoluntate, sed non occidistis in ueritate, 25 quia CHRISTVS IN AETERNVM MANET. iacuit quidem corpus | in monumento, sed Christus regnabat in caelo; non enim poterat includere modica petra totius Dominum creaturae et omnia in manu tenentem. iacebat ergo in modica illa petra, sed totam tenebat undique creaturam, quia de ipso propheta dicebat IN MANV EIVS OMNES FINES TERRAE, et 30 PATER DILIGIT FILIVM ET OMNIA DEDIT IN MANV EIVS. si enim anima non includitur in monumento cum corpore, multo magis diuinitas includi non potuit. ergo uiuit Christus in aeternum, sicut et sanctus angelus Gabriel dicebat ad gloriosam Mariam REGNABIT IN DOMO IACOB IN AETERNVM ET REGNI EIVS NON ERIT FINIS.

VII. Et septuagesimo primo psalmo de ipso dicitur ORIETVR IN DIEBVS EIVS IYSTITIA ET ABVNDANTIA PACIS: quando dicebat QVI TE PERCVSSERIT IN MAXILLAM, PRAEBE ILLI ET ALTERAM; ET QVI VULT TECVM IVDICIO CONTENDERE ET TVNICAM TVAM TOLLERE, DIMITTE ILLI 5 ET PALLEV M, quid IYSTIVS quid utilius quam inpatientem patientia | superare, et damnis potius uincere quam lucrando peccare? et multa sunt praecepta IYSTITIAE Domini saluatoris in sancto aeuangelio designata. et ne longum sit totum dicere, post aliquanta sequitur ET ABVNDANTIA PACIS DONEC EXTOLLATVR LVNA. ABVNDANTIA PACIS, 10 quia ipse est fons purissimus pacis, in quo nullae sunt turbulentae lites, nulla amaritudo malitiae, sed omnis plenitudo dulcedinis omnisque tranquillitas bonitatis (de isto ipse Dauid propheta alio dicebat in loco GVSTATE ET VIDETE QVONIAM SVAVIS EST DOMINVS, BEATVS VIR QVI

18. inquit memor esto V: memento *ed Rom* 20. istum . . . isti (l. 22) V: ipsum . . . ipsi *ed Rom* 21. sanitatem V: sanctitatem *ed Rom* 25. fol. 89^a
27. modica petra . . . si enim anima (l. 30): *septem codicis linearum nullum remanet uestigium in ed Rom* 32. poterat *ed Rom* 33. regnauit V

VII. 3. maxillam V: *praem dextram ed Rom* prebe V qui V: *praem ei ed Rom* 6. fol. 89^b uincere V *ut uid*: opprimi *ed Rom* et multa sunt conieci: sunt enim *ed Rom* 9. extollatur (cf. l. 23) V *ut uid*: auferatur *ed Rom*
10. turbulente V

16. Rom. xiv 8 17. Luc. xxiii 39-43 25. Io. xii 34 29. Ps. xciv (xcv) 4
30. Io. iii 35 33. Luc. i 33

VII. 1. Ps. lxxi (lxxii) 7 2. Matt. v 39, 40 13. Ps. xxxiii (xxxiv) 9 (8)

45 AB EO, quod sacerdos TV inquit ad eum Pater SACERDOS IN AETERNVM
 SECUNDVM ORDINEM MELCHISEDHEC, sacrificium apostolus Paulus ait
 QVI SE IPSVM OBTVLIT OBLATIONEM ET HOSTIAM DEO IN ODORE BONAE
 SVAVITATIS. AVRVM TVS ET MVRRAM: AVRVM rex quaerit, id est
 electa corda, TVS Deus orationes castas et bonas IN ODOREM BONAE
 50 FRAGRANTIAE, MVRRAM ad sepulturam sanctorum, quia PRETIOSA EST
 IN CONSPECTV DOMINI MORS SANCTORVM EIVS. ergo undique populi
 ad Christum MVNERA perferunt. sequitur in psalmo ET ADORABVNT
 EVM OMNES REGES TERRAE, OMNES GENTES SERVIENT EI: quod inple-
 tum uidemus; quia ubique nomen Domini Christi adoratur ab omnibus
 55 regibus, dumtaxat | christianis, omnibusque gentibus. sed etsi sunt
 aliqui reges aut gentes aliquae quae nolunt adorare, sicuti et uos Iudaei,
 manet carcer aeternus, manet iudicium Dei. DEVS ait propheta MANI-
 FESTVS VENIET, DEVS NOSTER ET NON SILEBIT. qui uenit 'in humilitate
 occultus, ueniet in potestate manifestus': tunc VIDEBIT EVM OMNIS
 60 CARO, id est omnis homo, quia OMNES STABIMVS ANTE TRIBVNAL
 CHRISTI, VT RECIPIAT VNVSQVISQVE PROPRIA CORPORIS PROVT GESSIT,
 SIVE BONVM SIVE MALVM. nam et in ipso psalmo in capite ait DEVS
 IVDICIVM TVVM REGI DA ET IVSTITIAM TVAM FILIO REGIS, quia REX
 et FILIVS REGIS ipse est Dominus Christus; et in conclusione psalmi
 65 dicit REPLEBITVR GLORIA EIVS OMNIS TERRA. FIAT, FIAT, et nos
 dicimus consentientes sancto prophetae cum Domini uoce AMEN AMEN,
 hoc est 'Vere, fideliter'. iteratio autem sermonis ista confirmationem
 in se continet ueritatis. Deo gratias. ergo conuincuntur | euidenter
 Iudaei.

VIII. Deo iuuante, sic dicamus contra eos non studio nocendi, ut
 eos deuictos perimamus. absit! a nobis spiritale proelium pro hominum
 salute geritur, ARMA NOSTRA NON SINT CARNALIA SED FORTIA A DEO.
 itaque saluare eos conuersos quaerimus, et sub regis nostri Christi
 5 dicione conuertere. non ergo litem quaerimus quia ueritatem inquiri-
 mus. militamus enim sub rege pacifico et pacis castra sectamur;
 ideoque eos, ut dixi, uolumus de tempestiuis fluctibus erroris ad

48. suauitatis V 50. fragrantiae: ita V quia . . . sanctorum: om per
 homocoteleuton ed Rom 53. serbient V 55. fol. 91 b 58. silebit ut uid V:
 tardabit ed Rom 61. propria corporis: scil. non τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος sed τὰ ἰδίᾳ τοῦ
 σώματος 62. in 1º: om V*, supplet V* 65. repleuitur V 68. fol. 92 a

VIII. 3. a V: fortasse per dittographiam post fortia 4. conuersos quaerimus
 V ut uid: cupimus ed Rom 5. dicione: legere non potuit ed Rom 6. enim:
 om ed Rom 7. tempestibus V

45. Ps. cix (cx) 4 47. Eph. v 2 50. Ps. cxv 6 (cxvi 15) 52. Ps. lxxi
 (lxxii) 11 57. Ps. xlix (l) 3: Cypr. de bon. pat. 22 (413. 22) 58. Cypr. de
 bon. pat. 23 (414. 22) 59. Is. xl 5 60. Rom. xiv 10, 2 Cor. v 10 62. Ps.
 lxxi (lxxii) 1 65. ib. 18

VIII. 3. 2 Cor. x 4

portum salutis perducere, et per atrium ueritatis in domum regalem Domini nostri introducere, ut fiant de inimicis amici et de antichristis christiani. uideant pascuam spiritalem, uideant (si merentur) caeleste 10 conuiuium, uideant dominicam mensam adque sacrorum ministeriorum fulgentem ornatum, et cantent nobiscum cum Dauid propheta sanctissimo dicentes DOMINVS PASCIT ME ET NIHIL MIHI DEERIT: IN LOCO PASCVAE, IBI ME CONLOCAVIT | et iterum QVAM AMABILIA SVNT TABERNACVLA TVA, DOMINE VIRTVTVM; CONCVPISCIT ET DEFICIT ANIMA MEA IN 15 ATRIA DOMINI.

Sed huic persuasioni contendunt impii Iudaei maluntque mori quam uinci, dicentes 'Nos unum colimus Deum, sicut scribunt in libris Moysi NON ERVNT TIBI DII ALII ABSQVE ME et DOMINVM DEVM TVVM ADORABIS ET ILLI SOLI SERVIES et AVDI ISRAHEL DOMINVS DEVS TVVS 20 DOMINVS VNVS EST. hoc praeceptum' clamant 'patribus datum est, quod nos seruare oportet et conuenit'. quibus dicimus Dicite ergo, cur patres uestri relicto isto uno Deo ad idola conuersi sunt ET FECERVNT VITVLVM IN CHOREB ET ADORAVERVNT SCVLPTILE ET INMVTAVERVNT GLORIAM SVAM IN SIMILITVDINEM VITVLI MANDVCANTIS 25 FENVN et SERVIEBANT MILITIAE CAELI. aiunt 'Illi uiderint: nos nescimus'. quibus dicimus Audite ergo et discite: ideo ista admonitio a Deo dabatur, ut ad se conuerteret | uniuersos, et *populum* praecipitem ad peccandum, et semper noua sibimet sacrificia conquirentem, a nefanda intentione frenaret et a uitiiis *multis uel* inlecebris reuocaret. 30 conspirauerant enim iam isti in Aegyptum superstitionibus falsis animum dare et per carnes et diuersas aepulas luxuriose peccare. inde sibi lucos, inde illicita sacrificia praesumpserunt, inde deos multos, inde falsa figmenta et inania idola. idcirco uolens eos, ut diximus, Dominus a tantis erroribus ad cultum suae maiestatis conuertere, sacro frequen- 35 ter intonabat eloquio dicens NON ERVNT TIBI DII ALII ABSQVE ME et DOMINVM DEVM TVVM ADORABIS ET ILLI SOLI SERVIES et AVDI ISRAHEL DOMINVS DEVS TVVS DOMINVS VNVS EST. nam ut certo sciatis quae sit fides christiana, nos istum unum Dominum inuisibilem incorporalem inmortalem, sine origine et sine fine, credimus colimus et ueneramur | 40

11. adque . . . ornatum: *om ed Rom* 12. nobicum V* propheta V
14. fol. 92 b 17. contendunt: *ita V ut uid, sed legendum fortasse* contradicunt
21. praeceptum V* 23. quur V 26. aiunt: adiunt V 28. fol. 93 a uni-
uersos . . . luxuriose peccare (*l. 32*): *nouem codicis lineas describere non ualuit ed*
Rom, omnia fere detexit A. Spagnolo 30. fraenaret V 31. superstitionibus V *ut*
uid: malis fortasse super opinionibus 33. inde 1° V: + sibi 2° *ed Rom*
presumpserunt V 39. istum V: ipsum *ed Rom*

13. Ps. xxii (xxiii) 1, 2 14. Ps. lxxxiii (lxxxiv) 1, 2 (2, 3) 19, 20. Exod.
xx 3 Deut. vi 13, vi 4: *Cypr. ad Fort. 2* (322. 23, 24, 323. 11) 23. Ps. cv (cvi)
19, 20 26. Act. vii 42, Hier. vii 18 36, 37. Exod. xx 3, Deut. vi 13, vi 4:
cf. l. 19 supra

sanctissimum

aut uidere aut audire mereamini.

- IX. Sed quia studium gerimus praedicandae ueritatis, ideoque post quae diximus adhuc diuina sumimus testimonia ut probemus Christum Deum et Dei Filium esse, sicut iam in aliquantis exposuimus, dicit Deus omnipotens Pater ad Moysen in Deuteronomio de Christo Filio
- 5 SUO PROPHETAM SVSCITABO ILLIS DE FRATRIBVS EORVM SICVT TE, ET DABO VERBUM MEVM IN OS EIVS ET LOQVETVR AD EOS QVAECVMQVE DIXERO ILLI: ET SI QVIS NON AVDIERIT PROPHETAM ILLVM, EGO VINDICABO. et iterum in Regnorum legimus | libro SVSCITABO MIHI SACERDOTEM FIDelem QVI OMNIA QVAE SVNT IN CORDE MEO FACIET et in sancto
- 10 euangelio ipse Pater dicit HIC EST FILIVS MEVS DILECTISSIMVS IN QVO BENE CONPLACVI, IPSVM AVDITE. in ueteri testamento ait ET QVI NON AVDIERIT PROPHETAM ILLVM INTERIET DE POPVLO SVO: in nouo dicit IPSVM AVDITE: uide quam similis sibi sermo et conueniens sit, ut ipse probetur esse PROPHETA qui est Christus Dominus FILIVS Dei. Propheta
- 15 dicitur Patris, sed est Dominus prophetarum; Patris merito propheta, ut auctoris sui praedicator, ceteris autem gratiam prophetiae ipse contri-
buens. nam sicut Propheta et Angelus uocatur a Patre, ita scribuntur
est ECCE MITTO ANGELVM MEVM ANTE FACIEM TVAM, QVI PRAEPARABIT VIAM TVAM ANTE TE, OBSERVA EVM ET OBAVDI EI ET NE FVERIS INO-
- 20 BOEDIENS EI, NON ENIM DEERIT TIBI: NOMEN ENIM MEVM EST IN ILLO. unde et ipse Dominus Christus dicebat in sancto aeuangelio | EGO VENI IN NOMINE PATRIS MEI ET NON SVSCEPISTIS ME: CVM ALIVS VENERIT IN NOMINE SVO, ILLVM ACCIPIETIS. et Dauid dicebat BENEDICTVS QVI VENIT IN NOMINE DOMINI.
- 25 Sed dicit Iudaeus: 'Nos non credimus nec uobis nec aeuangelio.' accedamus ergo paulo latius ad diuinas Moysi et ceterorum prophetarum litteras, et inde ueritatis regulam perquiramus, et quae iam protulimus

fol. 93 b. *Initio huius paginae nouem lineae deficiunt cheu in editione nostra, decem in ed Rom*

IX. 1. praedicande V 2. que V 4. deuteronomio V 5. prophetam V
6. meum V: eius *ed Rom* 7. prophetam V 8. fol. 94 a libro V: *om ed Rom*
9. omnia V: in omnia *ed Rom* sancto V: *om ed Rom* 11. con-
placuit V in ueteri . . . quam similis (*l. 13*) V: *plura deficiunt in ed Rom*
12. prophetam V 13. sit ut ipse V: ipsis sit ipse *ed Rom* 14. prouetur V:
probatur *ed Rom* propheta V propheta 2° V 15. prophetarum V propheta V
16. predicator V prophetiae V 17. propheta V 18. preparauit V
19. ante te V: *om ed Rom* 21. fol. 94 b 22. suscepisti V *ut uid* 25. dicit
. . . Moysi (*l. 26*): dicitur (*et om*) *ed Rom* iudeus V 26. prophetarum V

IX. 5. Deut. xviii 18, 19 8. 1 Reg. ii 35 10. Matt. xvii 5 18. Exod.
xxiii 20, 21 (*Cypr. Test. ii 5* [67. 18]), Marc. i 2 21. Io. v 43: *Cypr. Test. ii 15*
23. Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 26: *Cypr. Test. ii 15*

repetamus. dicit beatus Moyses in libro Geneseos inluminatus Spiritu sancto IN PRINCIPIO FECIT DEVS CAELVM ET TERRAM: adtende statim illud quia a PRINCIPIO coepit et PRINCIPIVM nominavit, quod nos 30 intellegimus Christum, PRINCIPIVM dictum IN quo DEVS Pater FECIT CAELVM ET TERRAM; caelestia pariter et terrena IN Christo fecit, id est in ipsius uirtute qui iubentis imperio ministrabat. IN ipso FECIT qui quod iussum est adimpleuit, quia de Patre scribuntur est | IPSE DIXIT ET FACTA SVNT, IPSE MANDAVIT ET CREATA SUNT. omnia ergo IN 35 PRINCIPIO, id est in Christo, FECIT DEVS, CAELVM ET TERRAM. nam (quia, licet iam superius dixerimus, iterum repetimus, ne forsitan uestrae aures aperiantur et percipiant uerbum Dei), Christus PRINCIPIVM esse manifesta ratione probatur. *ex ipsius enim persona propheta clamat* DOMINVS CREAVIT ME PRINCIPIO VIARVM SVARVM IN OPERA SVA, 40 ANTE SAECVLA FVNDAVIT ME; et iterum ex persona Sapientiae ipse Christus de se dicit per prophetam EGO EX ORE ALTISSIMI PRODII, PRIMOGENITA ANTE OMNEM CREATVRAM. ergo in isto Filio et per istum, sicut saepius dictum est, Deus Pater omnipotens omnia fecit, sicut iterum in psalmo dicebat IN CAPITE LIBRI SCRIBTVM EST DE ME. 45

Sed dicit Iudaeus: 'Ipse qui dixit, ipse et fecit.' cui dicimus: Et quid necesse erat ut diceret, si non erat alius qui audiret et faceret? numquid sibi | dicebat FIAT.

Sed iterum dicit Iudaeus: 'Ad angelos dixit.' quibus dicimus: Sed non sic refert scriptura FECERVNT ANGELI, sed habet ET FECIT 50 DEVS.

X. Clamat autem Iudaeus et dicit: 'Quomodo dicitis christiani filium habere Deum? numquid filium Deus inuisibilis et incorruptibilis genuit?' quibus iterum respondemus: Sicut Dominus ait EGO DIXI DII ESTIS ET FILII ALTISSIMI OMNES; SI ILLOS DIXIT DEOS et filios Altissimi AD QVOS SERMO DEI FACTVS EST, ET NON POTEST SOLVI SCRIBTVRA, MIHI ait 5 Dominus IRASCIMINI QVIA DIXI FILIVS DEI SVM? SI NON FACIO OPERA PATRIS MEI, NOLITE MIHI CREDERE; QVOD SI MIHI NON VULTIS CREDERE,

32. terraena V 34. qui quod V: quidquid *ed Rom* fol. 95 a 36. id est in Christo V: *om ed Rom* nam quia . . . dominus (l. 40): *sex fere codicis lineas legere non potuit ed Rom* 39. prophete *ut uid V* 42. prophetam V prodibi V 44. sepius V 45. in capite: -sc. Gen. i 1 46. iudeus V 48. fol. 95 b 49. iudeus V 50. sic refert . . . genuit (X 2): *per sex codicis lineas deficiunt nonnulla in apographo Antonii Spagnolo, plura in ed Rom*

X. 1. iudeus V 3. ait . . . omnes *partim legit A. Spagnolo, lacunas ego supplendi*: nonne dictum est in lege uestra quia ego dixi Dii estis et filii Altissimi carissimi *ed Rom* 5. solbi V 6. dixit *ut uid V* 7. quod si V: si autem facio, et si *ed Rom*

29. Gen. i 1 34. Ps. cxlviii 5 40. Prov. viii 22, 23 42. Eccles. xxiv 3 45. Ps. xxxix (xl) 8 (7) 50. Gen. i 27

X. 3. Ps. lxxxii (lxxxii) 6 4. Io. x 34-38

X 2

VEL OPERIBVS CREDITE. deinde dicimus: Quid uidetur Iudaeis illud quod ait Dauid ex persona sine dubio Christi DOMINVS DIXIT AD ME,
 10 FILIVS MEVS ES TV EGO HODIE GENVI TE? et iterum ex persona Patris dicit ipse propheta sanctissimus Dauid | ad Filium TECVM PRINCIPIO IN DIE VIRTUTIS TVAE IN SPLENDORIBVS SANCTORVM, EX VTERO ANTE LVCIFERV M GENVI TE: quem genuit, uel de quo, dicat Iudaeus.

Dicit ergo: 'Creditis quia genuit Deus?' respondemus: Sic prophetae dixerunt, et ita nos credimus. genuit enim, sed ut Deus, impassibiliter incorruptibiliter ineffabiliter, et ut prius dictum est, spiritus spiritum Deus Deum, sancte diuine genuit, sicut decuit Deo generare. genuit Dominus Dominum, lux lucem, splendor splendorem, potens potentem, rex regem, unus unum, solus solum, aeternus aeternum,
 20 uirtus uirtutem, creator creatorem. et haec iam diximus, et dicimus, ut ualeamus: ceterum illud inexplicabile est et indicibile, quod est Pater et Filius, Filius Patris, Verbum Patris, uirtus et sapientia Patris, in quo et per quem fecit Pater omnia. hoc Verbum intellege Filium Dei, quem misit pro salute mundi, sicut propheta dixit MISIT VERBUM SVVM
 25 ET SANAUIT EOS. | ergo Filius Dei dicitur qui est Verbum Patris: non ut tu carneo et culpabili sensu intellegis, Deum carnaliter nos dicere genuisse. nam audi Eseiam sanctum prophetam de Christo dicentem GENERATIONEM AVTEM EIVS QVIS ENARRABIT? numquid dici uel explicari potest quomodo Pater Filium genuerit siue Verbum protulerit?
 30 Dicit Iudaeus: 'Volo intellegere quemadmodum ista de Christo credatis.' ad quem dicimus: Audi, scribturn est Patre dicente TECVM PRINCIPIO IN DIE VIRTUTIS TVAE IN SPLENDORIBVS SANCTORVM, EX VTERO ANTE LVCIFERV M GENVI TE. qui dicit TE alium ostendit esse, hoc est secundum a se Filium suum, ad quem dicit TE: TE qui dicit
 35 et sui loquentis et ad quem loquitur duas declarat esse personas. EX VTERO ait ANTE LVCIFERV M GENVI TE: VTERVM hic maiestatis sensum intellege, inenarrabilem plenitudinem profundumque | mysterium Dei, inconpraehensibilem sapientiam; ANTE LVCIFERV M GENVI TE uel ante caeli ornatum uel ante Spiritus sancti initium, quia ipse Spiritus sanctus
 40 LVCIFER dicitur, qui lucem ueritatis et bonae fidei mentibus humanis infundit, quique per prophetas aeterni solis Christi ut LVCIFER aduentum saepissime nuntiavit.

8. uidetur V: + dictum *ed Rom* 11. propheta V fol. 96 a 13. uel de quo ... sicut decuit (*l. 17*): *dimidiam fere partem legere non ualuit ed Rom* 14. prophetae V 16. et ut scripsi: et V ut uid 17. sancte diuine, cf. II 46: sanctae diuinae ut uid V 24. propheta V 25. sanabit V fol. 96 b 27. prophetam V 29. sine V: deus *ed Rom* 30. dicit Iudaeus (iudeus V): om *ed Rom* quemadmodum ut uid V 36. sensum V: *fortasse legendum sensu uel sinum* 37. intelligo *ed Rom* inenarrabile ut uid V fol. 97 a 39. ipse: isipse V 40. et bonae: et bone V; *mallem* adque 41. prophetas V 42. sepiissime V

9. Ps. ii 7 11. Ps. cix (cx) 3 16. Cf. II 46-50 22. I Cor. i 24 Gen. i 1, Io. i 3 24. Ps. cvi (cvii) 20 28. Is. liii 8 31. Ps. cix (cx) 3

XI. Nam iste Dominus Christus Filius Dei multis sanctis et ante uisus est et prius apparuisse dinoscitur; Abrahæ et Iacob et Moysi, et filiis Israhel IN COLUMNA IGNIS et NVBIS, de quo Deus Pater dixerat ECCE EGO MITTO ANGELVM MEVM ANTE FACIEM TVAM QVI PARABIT VIAM TVAM ANTE TE; et filio Naue ipse uisus est, cui et dicebat EGO SVM 5 PRINCEPS MILITIAE VIRTUTIS DOMINI. utique et Filius est Patris, et ANGELVS eius dicitur id est nuntius, et PROPHETA et SACERDOS et PVER et ADVOCATVS et VIRTVS et SAPIENTIA et cetera. nam quia Abrahæ uisus est, audi scribturam dicentem | VOCAVIT ANGELVS DOMINI ABRAHAM DE CAELO ET AIT, ABRAHAM ABRAHAM NE INICIAS MANVM TVAM 10 SVPER PVERVM NEQVE FECERIS EI QVICQVAM: NVNC ENIM COGNOVI QVIA TIMES DOMINVM DEVM TVVM ET NON PEPERCISTI FILIO TVO DILECTISSIMO PROPTER ME; et quando uenerunt TRES VIRI et apparuerunt sedenti AD ILICEM MAMBRE, unde in sequentibus ita inuenies scribtum quia PLVIT DOMINVS A DOMINO IGNEM ET SVLFVR super duas 15 ciuitates Sodomam et Gomoram. audis quia DOMINVS A DOMINO PLUIT: quis DOMINVS A quo DOMINO, nisi Filius a Patre? nam ipse apparuit et Iacob, et CONVLCTATVS EST CVM EO, unde ait ipse Iacob VIDI DEVM FACIE AD FACIEM, ET SALVA FACTA EST ANIMA MEA: utique in figura corporis Christum uiderat quam erat postea suscepturus, cum quo et 20 CONVLCTATVR. nam de Patre scribtum est QVEM VIDIT HOMINVM NEMO NEQVE VIDERE POTEST; et iterum NON POTEST ait ipse Deus Pater HOMO FACIEM MEAM VIDERE ET VIVERE. ipse ANGELVS | DOMINI qui et Christus APPARUIT Moysi in rubo IN IGNE, ipseque dixit EGO SVM DEVS ABRAHAM ET DEVS ISSAAC ET DEVS IACOB: qui dictus est ANGELVS 25 primo DOMINI in igne apparuisse, ipse locutus deinde dicitur et dixisse EGO SVM DEVS ABRAHAM et ISAAC et IACOB. Iesu quoque filio Naue in ripa fluminis stanti AD HIERICO apparuisse refertur ipsum Dominum Christum gladium tenentem IN MANV, cui cum diceret Iesus REX NOSTER ES AN ADVERSARIORVM? ait Dominus ad eum EGO SVM PRINCEPS 30 MILITIAE VIRTUTIS DOMINI. iste est PRINCEPS principatum gerens,

XI. 5. cui: qui V 7. profheta V 9. fol. 97 b uocabit V 10. ne inicias scripsi: ne inicias ut uid V, non extends ed Rom 11. neque feceris . . . mambre (l. 14): legere non potuit ed Rom 14. ita scripsi: ibi ut uid V 17. quis: quia ut uid V: qui ed Rom 18. et: ei ut uid V 20. et conluctatur scripsi: et conluctatus ut uid V; malis fortasse est conluctatus cum ed Rom 23. fol. 98 a 24. et V: fortasse legendum est 26-28. locutus . . . Iesu quoque . . . refertur: haec quattuor uerba legere non potuit ed Rom 29. rex: ita ut uid V, cf. l. 32 31. principatum gerens scripsi: principatum querens V

XI. 3. Exod. xiii 21 4. Exod. xxiii 20, Mark i 2 5. Ios. v 14 7. Deut. xviii 18: i Reg. ii 35: Is. lii 13: i Io. ii 1: i Cor. i 24 9. Gen. xxii 11, 12 13. Gen. xviii 1, 2 15. Gen. xix 24 18. Gen. xxxii 24, 30 21. i Tim. vi 16 22. Exod. xxxiii 20 23. Exod. iii 2, 6 28. Ios. v 13, 14

ipseque REX a Patre CONSTITVTVS, ipso testante et dicente EGO AVTEM CONSTITVTVS SVM REX AB EO.

Nam et in quodam psalmo ex persona ipsius Christi loquentis dicebat
 35 Daud INMOLA DEO SACRIFICIVM LAVDIS ET REDDE ALTISSIMO VOTA
 TVA, ET INVOCA ME IN DIE PRESSVRAE ET ERIPIAM TE ET GLORIFICABIS
 ME. admonet in istis uersiculis INMOLARI deberi Deo Patri, et se
 INVOCARI | ut auxilietur supplicibus suis; prout diceret 'Redde Patri
 obsequium laudis, et ego tibi praestabo auxilium; protegentis honora
 40 genitorem, et me inuenies adiutorem'. unde ipse et in sancto
 aeuangelio dicebat EGO HONORIFICO PATREM MEVM ET VOS INHONORA-
 TIS ME.

*Nos ergo christiani VNVM, ut diximus, DEVM PATREM credimus et
 confitemur, ET VNVM DOMINVM nostrum IESVM CHRISTVM Filium eius,
 45 quem et lex et prophetae locuti sunt; et per ipsum Deum Patrem
 oramus, et ipsi gratias agimus, quia et ipse Saluator ita nobis mandauit,
 dicens et omnibus credere uolentibus HAEC EST VITA AETERNA VT
 COGNOScant TE SOLVM VERVM DEVM ET QVEM MISISTI IESVM CHRISTVM.
 ergo cognoscentes praecepta saluatoris nostri Christi unum Deum
 50 Patrem per ipsum semper laudemus, CVI EST GLORIA IN SAECVLA.
 AMEN.

38. fol. 98 b suplicibus V 39. prestabo V 41. inhonorastis *ed Rom*
 43. ut diximus V : omi (*sine lacunae indicio*) *ed Rom* 45. prophetae V 46. manda-
 bit V 49. precepta V

32. Ps. ii 6 35. Ps. xlix (l) 14, 15 41. Io. viii 49 43. 1 Cor. viii 6:
cf. Symbolum Nicaenum 47. Io. xvii 3 50. Rom. xi 36 *etc*

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE JOHANNINE ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY MINISTRY OF JESUS.

THE day is perhaps over when the use of the Fourth Gospel as a historical source for the life of Jesus either exposed the user to the charge of credulity at the hands of critics, or at least threw upon him the onus of defending its historicity by elaborate arguments or else producing some independent confirmation of its statements. While the problems of its authorship and structure still remain unsolved, and while its discourses and dialogues often set forth the theological views of its author rather than the words of the persons of whom he writes, the established accuracy of many of its historical and geographical details¹ furnishes quite sufficient grounds for taking at least the narrative portion seriously, and for assuming that it rests on as reliable a tradition as the synoptic story, unless definite reasons to the contrary are forthcoming in the case of any special incident. If so much as this can be said without defying the dicta of modern critical experts, the vindication of historicity may perhaps be held to cover the general chronological scheme of the Gospel—always allowing for doubts that may be raised in regard to the position and interpretation of particular episodes and accidental dislocations of the text. It is the purpose of this article to discuss, on the basis of the view here set forth, two or three points in connexion with the early ministry of Jesus, as recorded in the first four chapters of the Gospel.

The story opens with a sort of diary extending over seven consecutive days, which we must presume to have fallen shortly after the Temptation and shortly before the first Passover of the ministry (ii 13). The seven days are marked as follows:—

1. The Jewish Deputation to the Baptist (i 19–28).
2. The first designation of Jesus by the Baptist as ‘the Lamb of God’ (i 29–34).
3. The second such designation: Jesus followed by Andrew and another (i 35–40).
4. Andrew brings Simon to Jesus (i 41–42).²

¹ Moffatt *INT.* 541–550.

² Adopting the reading *ἡμεῖς* (‘early next morning’—so MSS b and e of the Old Latin version, and the Sinaitic Syriac) instead of the difficult *ἡπῶρον* in v. 41. The *ἡπῶρον* is generally taken to imply that, after Andrew had *first* brought Simon to

5. The call of Philip and Nathanael and the journey to Galilee (i 43-51).

6. A blank.

7. The Marriage-Feast at Cana (ii 1-11).¹

Then comes a stay of 'not many days' at Capernaum with his mother, brothers, and disciples (ii 12),² after which Jesus goes up to Jerusalem because the Passover is at hand. On arrival there he turns the traders out of the Temple courts (ii 13-22), and later has his interview with Nicodemus. In this dating of the cleansing of the Temple, the Fourth Gospel is at issue with the other three, which agree in placing that incident at the end of the ministry, a week before Jesus's death. Apart from those who for harmonistic reasons believe that there were two cleansings of the Temple, one at the beginning and one at the end of the Ministry,³ practically all critics agree in regarding the Synoptic chronology as historically true, and in discrediting the Johannine arrangement as a deliberate anachronism.⁴ The following considerations may, however, be urged as telling in favour of the Fourth Gospel on this point.

1. The 'triple tradition' of the Synoptics here reduces itself to the authority of Mark. We have no reason for supposing that Matthew and Luke had access to any information as to the date of the incident beyond the narrative of Mark.⁵

Jesus, the unnamed disciple (supposed to be John) then brought *his* brother James to Jesus (so e.g. Plummer in *Camb. Greek Test. ad loc.*—without even mentioning the variant reading, p. 61): but this is highly dubious.

¹ The marriage took place 'on the third day' (ii 1), i. e. counting 'the day of the marriage and the day last mentioned.

² The Rev. F. W. Lewis, whose interesting little monograph, *Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel* (1910), I shall have occasion to quote, informs me that he equates this visit to Capernaum with that of Mt. iv 13, which begins the Galilean Ministry in the Synoptics, and hence finds it necessary to bracket the Synoptic statement that this took place after John's imprisonment (Mt. ii 12), out of deference to Jn. iii 24, which states that John was not yet cast into prison. But nothing is said in Jn. ii 12 ff of an ensuing ministry in Galilee: the stay is one of 'not many days' and is followed by a visit to Jerusalem. It is much simpler to regard the Johannine and Synoptic visits to Capernaum as separate—putting the latter soon after the incident of Jn. iv 46-54 (cf. vi 1: v should follow vi—Lewis *op. cit.* 3-5, Moffatt *INT.* 554), and thus avoiding a contradiction between our two authorities in the matter of John's imprisonment.

³ e.g. Farrar *Life of Christ* xiii init.; Plummer *op. cit.* 96. Mr J. M. Thompson (*Expositor* VIII ix 434) rightly urges that the Johannine dating is probably intentional, and that the section is probably not one of those that have been accidentally removed from the position originally assigned to them by the author.

⁴ Moffatt *INT.* 538.

⁵ 'The synoptic tradition really is derived from Mk's scheme, which is admittedly far from exhaustive. . . . The synoptic scheme rests ultimately upon a single line of historical tradition' (Moffatt, 541, 543).

2. The complete dependence of Matthew and Luke on Mark in a matter of this sort, and their inability to correct him, even when he is in error, appears from the fact that they both follow him in describing the Last Supper as a Passover, whereas we know from the Fourth Gospel that the meal was taken on the night *before* the Passover.¹

3. We must therefore face the possibility that, as against the Fourth Gospel, Mark (and with him the 'triple tradition') may be in error in regard to the date of the cleansing of the Temple, as he is in regard to the date of the Crucifixion.

4. Now Mark knew of only one visit of Jesus to Jerusalem, namely, that which culminated in his death; and he was therefore obliged to place any Jerusalem incident, which he desired to relate, within the last week of the life of Jesus. Here we have a very sufficient reason why he puts the cleansing of the Temple so late in his story: on his theory of only one visit to Jerusalem he had no other choice.

5. In making specific mention of only one visit to Jerusalem, Mark is followed by Matthew and Luke, whereas (apart altogether from the direct statements of the Fourth Gospel to the contrary) the Synoptics themselves contain numerous traits and touches, implying a ministry in Judaea and more than one visit to Jerusalem before the last; e.g. the lament over Jerusalem in Mt. xxiii 37 ff || ('how *often* did I wish to gather thy children' &c.), several indications in Luke's 'larger interpolation' (Lk. ix 51 ff—a definite start for Jerusalem [cf. x 1, 17]; x 38 f—a visit to Bethany; xi 51—the reference to the death of Zechariah at Jerusalem; xvii 11 originally describing a journey *from* Jerusalem [?]; xviii 10 'two men went up into the Temple to pray'), Mt. v 23 f ('If therefore thou art offering thy gift *at the altar*', &c.), and generally the Synoptic data of the last visit (which imply a longer connexion with Jerusalem than a single week).²

6. We are therefore at liberty to assign to an earlier visit to Jerusalem any incident placed by Mark in the last week of Jesus's life, provided the reasons for doing so outweigh its connexions with that week. What reasons are there for believing that the cleansing of the Temple occurred earlier than the Triumphal Entry?

(a) First of all we may place the direct Johannine statement. This, of course, will have little weight with those who are shy of relying on the historical statements of the Fourth Gospel; but whatever historical worth attaches to various details of its narrative—and that is very considerable—may fairly be pleaded in support of its chronological framework, with the series of feasts. It is more difficult to believe that that

¹ There seems no doubt that the Johannine tradition is correct in this respect. See Moffatt, 544 f.

² Moffatt, 541-546.

framework was invented in order to supply a fictitious verisimilitude to a romance or to serve some theological purpose, than it is to suppose that it rests on the reliable memory of a personal disciple (not necessarily himself the author). And in regard to this particular incident, it is not easy to see what purpose the misplacement was meant to serve. 'Possibly', says Dr Moffatt,¹ '... the writer simply introduced the incident at this point in order to emphasize the saying' (John ii 19) 'as a proof that Jesus foresaw his death and resurrection from the very beginning. He has thus reset the incident, under the influence of his pragmatism . . . he considered that the first public visit of Jesus to Jerusalem must have been marked by an open assertion of his divine authority'. But, as Mr J. M. Thompson has argued,² Jesus's words were probably taken by the evangelist 'as a prediction of the almost miraculous growth of the Christian Church', and the verses applying them to his death and resurrection (i.e. *vv.* 21 f) are 'the mistaken comment of an editor of great zeal for the prophetic power of "the scripture and the word which Jesus had said", but with little insight into their real meaning'. If so, the desire to exhibit Jesus's foreknowledge of his death and resurrection could have played no part in determining the early position of the narrative. The suggestion that the author wanted to mark the arrival of Jesus in Jerusalem by a display of power is not so easily dismissed: but in itself what weight has it, compared with the factors that constrained Mark to put it at the other end of the ministry?

(b) Secondly, the Fourth Gospel represents the Jews as saying to Jesus: 'Forty-six years has this temple been building' (John ii 20). Now it is of course possible to argue that the author, like the writer of a historical novel, calculated in cold blood the interval between the foundation of the Temple and the first Passover of Jesus's ministry, and framed this question accordingly. But is it not on any view at least as likely—and still more so, of course, if the Gospel narratives preserve on the whole valuable tradition—that the words actually reproduce, through the recollection of a spectator, what was actually said at the time? And if so, they could not have been spoken as late as a week before the death of Jesus: for the Temple was begun in 20–19 B.C., and the passover of the forty-sixth year would therefore be that of A.D. 27³—a likely date for the *commencement* of the ministry, but earlier than any date to which the crucifixion can plausibly be assigned.⁴ Unless therefore we are prepared to dismiss the words of the Jews as a calculated fiction, we

¹ *INT.* 538.

² *Expositor* VIII xiv 218–220.

³ C. H. Turner in Hastings's *DB.* i 405 b.

⁴ A.D. 27 was apparently the year of Pilate's arrival in Judaea, and Lk. iii 1, xiii 1, xxiii 12 shew that the crucifixion did not take place in the first days of his term of office (Turner *op. cit.* 410 b).

are driven to the conclusion that they must have been addressed to Jesus quite early in his ministry.¹

(c) There remains what may be called the psychological argument. Does the incident best fit the end or the beginning of Jesus's public life? The view usually taken is, that it is of a piece with the spectacular triumphal entry into Jerusalem, forming with it a public assertion of Messiahship, that 'it brings the enmity of the scribes and priests to a head . . . ; it is the natural climax of his ministry, a supreme effort to assert the rights of God in the headquarters of the nation, and his subsequent fate is the natural outcome of the deed'.² But this representation, while it explains certain features of the story, is not free from serious objections. The Outer Court, where apparently the cleansing took place, was not sacred soil; the sale of animals and the changing of money were necessary if the Temple-cultus was to be kept up at all; and if necessary, why should they not be permitted in the Court of the Gentiles as well as anywhere else? There is no reason to believe that the salesmen and moneychangers were all or for the most part dishonest; and in any case this special concern for the sanctity of a particular *place* does not harmonize very easily with the broad spirituality of Jesus, nor with his comparative indifference at other times to the Temple and the sacrificial system.³ Further, while his action did not involve the infliction of any personal injury on the offenders (the whip, as *vv.* 14, 15 shew, being used simply to drive the cattle)—scarcely even the use of physical violence towards them (for if one man expels a *crowd* it must be by the moral pressure of his personality, not the physical pressure of his hands)—nevertheless the whole proceeding was of a sufficiently violent and spectacular kind to form a striking contrast to that calmness and gentleness which Jesus normally both practised and commended: and the favourite plea that his wrath was rightly kindled at the sight of wrongdoing provokes the question why it was not more often kindled at the sight of more serious wrongdoing than that of which the traders in the Temple courts were guilty. On the whole, the difficulties of the

¹ The fact that Jesus was accused at his trial (Mk. xiv 58 ||) of using words similar to those of Jn. ii 19 does not prove that he had spoken these words a week before, and then only.

² Moffatt *INT.* 53⁸.

³ Cf. Mt. iv 5-7, v 23 f, ix 13, xii 6, 7, xxiii 35, xxiv 1 f and parallels; Mk. xii 32-34; Jn. iv 20-24. *Per contra*, Mt. v 35, viii 4, xii 5, xxiii 16 f. Other allusions (e.g. Lk. xviii 10), and the fact that Jesus frequented the Temple courts and taught in them (probably because people naturally congregated there), do not tell us anything to the point. Mr Oesterley (*Hastings's Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* ii 712 f) finds the ordinary explanation of Jesus's conduct so difficult that he adopts the view that Jesus really meant by it 'to abrogate entirely the Jewish sacrificial system'.

episode as usually explained are so great that we cannot feel at all confident that the prevalent view is necessarily superior to the Johannine, which makes the act one 'not of messianic authority, but of a prophetic or reforming zeal'.¹ The criticisms of the act which have just been suggested may be beside the mark; but insofar as they have any weight they would tell in favour of putting the incident at an early point in Jesus's career, before the attitude and policy that were to guide his ministry had been clearly and definitely settled in his own mind.

The story of what Jesus did at the Passover (John ii 13-25) is succeeded by that of his interview with Nicodemus (John iii), which begins indeed as a *bona fide* conversation, but gradually tails off into a series of Christological reflexions on the part of the author himself. How much of the conversation is genuine history, and where exactly the reflexions of the author begin, are difficult questions, but the latter embrace at least iii 16-21 and 31-36. It is generally recognized that the intervening verses (22-30), describing Jesus's ministry of baptism in Judaea and a further testimony of the Baptist to him, are out of place, and disturb the obvious connexion between 10-21 and 31-36. The question is, where ought 22-30 to be placed? Several recent writers agree in inserting them between ii 12 and ii 13, i.e. between the brief stay at Capernaum and the first Passover visit.² I must confess that I find the reasons given for this particular readjustment entirely unsatisfying. Mr Lewis says: '... the lack of transition between 12 and 13 in II is not after the manner of the Evangelist. The passing of Jesus from Galilee to Judaea is always noted, as is that from Judaea to Galilee. Here it is not. After a journey from Judaea to Galilee elaborately described (I 43-II 11) Jesus settles in Capernaum with his family (II 12)—and almost immediately we find him going, not into Judaea, but directly to Jerusalem. We miss the usual phrase, covering an interval, "after these things". As the narrative stands, Jesus was back in Jerusalem three or four weeks after leaving Judaea. This can scarcely have been.'³

Now the lack of transition between ii 12 and ii 13 is, to say the least, not very obvious. It is not true to say that the passing of Jesus from Galilee to Judaea is always noted. We have in v 1 the words: 'After these things there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem' (i.e. from Galilee, vi 59: vi having originally preceded v. Cf. xi 55 'Now the passover of the Jews was at hand: and many went

¹ Moffatt l. c.

² Lewis *Disarrangements* &c. 25-31; Moffatt *INT.* 553 note †; J. M. Thompson in *Expositor* VIII ix 422.

³ Lewis l. c. Similarly Thompson (l. c.): 'The sudden transition from Capernaum to Jerusalem without the usual mention of Judaea is . . . awkward.'

up to *Jerusalem out of the country* before the passover to purify themselves'). I cannot find a single instance in which Jesus is expressly said to have gone up to Jerusalem *from Judaea*, as the proposed adjustment would here make him do (going to Judaea is spoken of in vii 1, 3 [verse 10 mentions neither Judaea nor Jerusalem], xi 7; and going from Judaea to Galilee in iv 3, 47, 54; xii 12 speaks of Jesus as about to come to Jerusalem when he was already at Bethany, i. e. in Judaea, but the last mention of Judaea is as far back as xi 7). The elaborately described journey of i 43-ii 11 is not one *from Judaea* to Galilee, but apparently from Beth-abara near Beth-shan, or in any case from some place 'beyond the Jordan' (i 28: see Conder in Hastings *DB.* i 276): this makes the immediately ensuing journey to Jerusalem a perfectly reasonable proceeding. As for the phrase 'after these things', whatever we may think of the need for it in ii 13, we may be morally certain that the author would not have commenced two consecutive verses (ii 12, iii 22) with *μετὰ τοῦτο* and *μετὰ ταῦτα*, which is what he does on the theory in question. Dr Moffatt considers that this theory 'probably solves most of the difficulties', and adds in its support the supposed close affinity between ii 6 (the water-pots at the wedding for purifying) and iii 25 (the dispute between a disciple of John and a Jew about purifying), between ii 2, 9 (the marriage at Cana: the bridegroom and his friend) and iii 29 (John's reference to Jesus as the bridegroom and himself as the bridegroom's friend), and between ii 12 (the stay at Capernaum) and iii 22 (the coming into the land of Judaea): but these points of contact are the reverse of striking, and quite insufficient to justify placing iii 22-30 after ii 12. The same may be said of Mr Lewis's contention that his arrangement brings iii 27-30 closer to John's words about Jesus in i. A further objection to this setting is that it leaves the interval between Nicodemus's interview (?shortly after Passover) and the ensuing December (four months before harvest—iv 35; see below) an absolute blank.

The best and simplest arrangement is to put iii 22-30 after iii 36. There is no real reason why Jesus should not be said to have gone from Jerusalem into the land of Judaea. We thus avoid the impossibility of two consecutive verses beginning 'after this': the phrase 'Jesus went up to Jerusalem' of ii 13 refers quite naturally, like the same phrase in v 1, to a journey from Galilee: the chasm of eight months or so between Passover and December is spanned, however scantily: and above all, the reference to Jesus baptizing (iii 22) and the complaint of John's disciple about Jesus's success (iii 26) are brought into fitting connexion with iv 1 f ('So when the Lord knew that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John', &c.).

We pass on to the incident which took place at the well of Sychar. The narrative is perhaps one of the best instances we could have of that blending of genuine record with free construction which seems so characteristic of this Gospel. All except the actual conversation with the woman (iv 9-26) bears the stamp of verisimilitude. The incidents are perfectly natural; and the words of Jesus are quite in the synoptic manner (with iv 32, 34 cf. Mt. iv 4 ||; with 35 cf. Mt. ix 38 and the various agricultural parables; with 38 cf. Mt. xiii 16 f). The dialogue between Jesus and the woman, on the other hand, except the mere request for a drink, has several features highly improbable in real life. The way in which Jesus speaks of the living water (10-15), allowing the woman to think it was some material beverage, is needlessly misleading. The reference to the woman's five husbands is, to say the least, extraordinary, and may conceivably be a symbolical allusion to the five foreign races brought to Samaria (2 Kings xvii 24, 25). The introduction of the discussion as to the proper place for worship (20) has no connexion with what precedes. Almost equally abrupt is the woman's appeal to the Messiah (25). And could the words: 'Salvation is from the Jews' (22) ever have actually fallen from Jesus's lips? His explicit avowal of Messiahship (26) is out of keeping with the reserve—not to say the secrecy—with which we know from the Synoptics that he treated it; and it fits but ill with the woman's doubting suggestion (29): 'Can he be the Christ?' Unlike the story of the interview with Nicodemus, the narrative here clearly states (8) that there were no witnesses to the dialogue beyond the two participants: and it is not very easy to imagine Jesus or the woman retailing its details to one or more of the disciples. It looks very much as if the author of the Gospel took advantage of the occasion of a real, though unknown, conversation between Jesus and the woman, to use it as a blank space upon which he could inscribe what he believed to be his Master's views on such great topics as the comparative claims of the temples of Jerusalem and Gerizim, the true nature of worship, and the life eternal—as well as depicting his superhuman knowledge (17 f) and his Messianic self-consciousness (26).

The date of the incident is fixed by iv 35 as about the middle of December, harvest usually commencing (with barley) in the warmest and most fertile places about the beginning or middle of April.¹ It is difficult to imagine how any other interpretation could ever have been seriously entertained. It has, for instance, been suggested that 35 b and 36 refer to the actual harvest, and that 35 a contains a proverbial phrase alluding to the average interval between seed-time and harvest.²

¹ Hastings's *DB.* i 49 b, 408 a (note).

² Farrar *Life of Christ* i 207, n. 1 (ch. xv near the beginning): C. H. Turner in Hastings's *DB.* i 408.

On this shewing the incident occurred in the middle of harvest, about May. Origen's remark (which Mr Turner seems to regard as decisive in favour of this view), that as much as eight or nine months could not have elapsed since the Passover of ii, has little weight when the necessary transposition of v and vi is made: for it fills up the gap in one part of the narrative only to leave a still larger gap in another place, viz. between the arrival in Galilee (iv 43-45) in May and the Passover (April or May) of the next year (vi 4). Only the story of the cure of the courtier's son (iv 46-54) is then left to fill the void—a point which Mr Turner appears to have overlooked. Further, even if we could get over the difficulty of imagining a proverb of the form *ἐτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν, κτλ.*,¹ we should be faced with the very pertinent question as to what the meaning of the two verses 35 and 36 would then be. It will be found impossible on this basis to give them any sense at all suitable to the context in which they occur. The only natural exegesis is to take 35 a as referring to the casual remarks of the disciples as they looked at the springing corn, and 35 b as referring to the spiritual harvest which Jesus saw waiting to be reaped in the crowds of white-clad Samaritans who were approaching him.

If we may now combine the results at which we have arrived in regard to the Johannine narrative, with the opening of the Synoptic story, we obtain the following rough framework:—

A.D. 27.	Beginning { Pontius Pilatus arrives in Judaea as Procurator (or end of { (Lk. iii 1: cf. Turner <i>HBD.</i> i 410 b).
	A.D. 26.) { Mission of John the Baptist (Mt. iii 1-12).
Jan.-Mar.	Baptism and Temptation of Jesus (Mt. iii 13-iv 11 s).
March.	The incident of the seven days of Jn. i 19-ii 11 (see above, pp. 1 f).
Mar.-April.	The short stay at Capernaum (Jn. ii 12).
April.	Passover: the cleansing of the Temple: the interview with Nicodemus (Jn. ii 13-iii 21, iii 31-36).
May-Dec.	Jesus baptizing in Judaea (Jn. iii 22-24, iv 2).
? Nov.	Dispute between a disciple of John and a Jew. John's further testimony to Jesus (Jn. iii 25-30).

¹ Plummer (*Camb. Gk. Test. ad loc.*) rightly says: 'No such proverb is known, and a proverb on the subject would have to be differently shaped', and, we may add, differently introduced.

- Dec. Jesus starts for Galilee (Jn. iv 1, 3). John rebukes Herod and is imprisoned (Mk. vi 17-20 ||s; Josephus *Antiq.* XVIII v 2). Jesus near or at Samaria (Jn. iv 4-42). On hearing of John's imprisonment he goes on to Galilee (Mt. iv 12 ||s; Jn. iv 43-45); passes through Nazareth (Mt. iv 13 [καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρέτ]; Lk. iv 16-30 belongs to a later occasion [see verse 23]); reaches Cana, where he cures the son of the courtier of Capernaum (Jn. iv 46-54); goes on to Capernaum himself (Mt. iv 13);
- ? A.D. 28. Jan. and there opens the Galilean ministry with the proclamation of the Kingdom of God (Mt. iv 17 [ἀπὸ τότε] ||s).

C. J. CADOUX.

PROFESSOR TORREY ON 'ACTS'.¹

PROFESSOR C. C. TORREY, of Yale, published in 1916 a pamphlet of 72 pages in the *Harvard Theological Studies*, which on my return to ordinary University life I find to be not so well known in England as it deserves to be. I must confess at once that I am not in the least convinced of the correctness of Professor Torrey's main conclusions, but I am greatly impressed by the skill with which he has stated and defended them. It is rather an ungracious thing to introduce a friend and then to try to knock him down, and my excuse for doing this metaphorically to Professor Torrey's theory is my sense of the importance of his work and the danger of leaving it unanswered.

Professor Torrey's pamphlet consists of three chapters. In chap. i he elaborates his startling theory that the first half of Acts, viz. i 1-xv 35, is not only based to some extent on Semitic sources, but is actually a translation from an Aramaic document (pp. 3-41). In chap. ii he defends the integrity of the second half of Acts, viz. xv 36-end (pp. 42-54), and in chap. iii discusses the relation of the two parts, incidentally concluding that the date of Acts was early and that St Luke's Gospel was written before A.D. 61 (pp. 55-72). A good deal of chap. ii is concerned with Norden's *Agnostos Theos*, and since

¹ C. C. Torrey *The Composition and Date of Acts* (Harvard Theological Studies I), Cambridge (Mass.), 1916.

it goes over much the same ground as the present writer's review of Norden in this JOURNAL¹ and comes to much the same conclusions, I need not delay further with it here, except to recommend it to any one who still thinks that Apollonius of Tyana had anything to do with St Paul's speech at Athens as given in Acts xvii.

My concern now is with the opening chapter. Professor Torrey recognizes such uniformity of vocabulary and phraseology in the whole of Acts that 'it is obvious that the author of xvi-xxviii was the translator of i-xv' (p. 5). But 'there are no passages in which the *language* can be said to make it probable that Luke is composing his own Greek' (p. 6). A list of some 40 Semitic phrases from Acts i-xv is then given, to which follows § 3, which contains an elaborate examination of six 'especially striking Examples of Mistranslation', viz. ii 47, iii 16, iv 24 ff, viii 10, xi 27-30, xv 7 (pp. 10-22): I think it not unfair to say that by the evidence from these passages Professor Torrey's theory stands or falls. This is followed by about 50 other instances where Professor Torrey sees evidence of translation, but these, not being actual mistranslations, do not make his conclusions quite so inevitable (pp. 23-41).

Let us begin, as Professor Torrey does, with Acts ii 47. 'The most interesting of all the phrases which suggest translation is found in ii 47. The narrator is telling how the first large body of believers was formed in Jerusalem, as the result of those things which happened on the day of Pentecost. The new community was harmonious within, and was looked upon with favor by all the people of the city: "Day by day, continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people." Verse 47 then continues: ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζόμενους καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. Excepting the last three words, this is just what we should expect: a general statement regarding the increase of the newly formed church, similar to the statements made at frequent intervals (iv 4, v 14, vi 7, ix 31, &c.), throughout this narrative. But the words ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό have remained an unsolved riddle. The phrase ordinarily means "together", "in the same place"; in the Greek Old Testament it is the standing equivalent of יחד and יחדיו. It has just been used in this chapter, v. 44: "And all that believed were *together* and had all things common." Other passages in Luke-Acts are Lk. xvii 35, Ac. i 15, ii 1, also iv 26 (from Ps. ii 2). But in ii 47, the passage under discussion, the meaning "together" is obviously inadmissible. . . . The ancient interpreters felt the difficulty of the phrase. . . . In the *textus receptus* the attempt is made to join the troublesome words to the following

¹ J. T. S. xv 455-464.

verse, making them the beginning of iii 1: "Now *together* Peter and John went up to the temple", &c. . . . Many old manuscripts and versions endeavour to improve the passage by inserting *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* . . . The Revisers of 1881 render: "And the Lord added to *them* day by day those that were being saved", but remark in the margin that instead of "*to them*" the Greek reads "*together*" . . . Under these circumstances, the hypothesis of translation from a Semitic original certainly deserves to be considered. When the test of retroversion is applied, the result is unexpectedly interesting, for it not only provides an easy solution of the difficulty of the passage, but also seems to furnish direct evidence that author and translator lived in different parts of the Aramaic-speaking world.

'Of the possible Aramaic equivalents of the Greek *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, Hebrew *לְהֵי*, only one needs to be considered, namely the adverbial compound *לְחֵדָּא* or *לְחֵדָּא*. Etymologically, this is equivalent to *in unum*, and it is occasionally used in this literal sense, "into one", meaning "together" (e.g. Joh. xi 52 *εἰς ἓν*). . . . *But in the Judean dialects of Aramaic the usual meaning of לחדא is "greatly, exceedingly", and this is precisely what is needed in the place of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό in Acts ii 47. . . .*

'We may then restore the original Aramaic of ii 47^b as follows: *ומריא מוסף הוא לְיָי חַיִּין בִּל יוֹם לְחֵדָּא*. Here the preposition *ל* in the fourth word might signify either the dative or the direct object. Doubtless it was originally intended to signify the former; but if the translator failed to recognize the peculiar use of *לחדא* . . . it was inevitable that he should render with the Greek accusative. The correct rendering would be: *ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοῖς σωζομένοις καθ' ἡμέραν σφόδρα*, "*And the Lord added greatly day by day to the saved*" (Torrey, pp. 10-14).

I have given Professor Torrey's argument in his own words. It must be acknowledged that he makes out a very forcible case. It is quite evident that the Revised Version, which was set the task of making English for the true text,¹ has stumbled very badly. If we are to find an answer different from Professor Torrey's, we must find a better translation.

It appears to me that before this translation can be made we ought to determine more accurately what is involved in the term *οἱ σωζόμενοι* as well as in *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*. The R. V. rendering ('those that were being saved') implies a view that I venture to think wrong.

Who, then, are the *σωζόμενοι*? The term occurs Lk. xiii 23,

¹ The text accepted by R. V. and Torrey is that of NBACG 61 *vg sah boh arm aeth*—i. e. it is attested very well indeed.

Acts ii 47, 1 Cor. i 18, 2 Cor. ii 15. The two latter passages tell us clearly who they are to be contrasted with, viz. οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι, those who (in this time of grace) are being lost. The ἀπολλύμενοι are not necessarily getting worse and worse, but as a matter of fact when the interim is over and the great time of reckoning comes they will be found with the 'goats', while on the other hand the σωζόμενοι will be found with the 'sheep'. In other words, οἱ σωζόμενοι are 'the elect'. Will they be few or many?—the saying of our Lord in Lk. xlii 24 ff is careful to leave this question unanswered, but the whole wording assumes that a direct answer could be given if it were desirable, i.e. God knows the number of the saved, though man does not. Well, then, if God knows the number of the saved, of the σωζόμενοι, He will not add to them. Whatever else Acts ii 47 may mean, it will not tell us that the Lord was adding to the σωζόμενοι. But it may very well tell us that He was putting them together into one company.

For ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ I should like to refer my readers to an excellent Note in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* xxxvii pp. 105-110, by Mr. A. A. Vazakas, of the Union Theological Seminary. He points out that ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ is used by St Paul and the Apostolic Fathers almost as a technical phrase for the union of the Christian body. In addition to Acts i 15, ii 1, 44, and our passage, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ occurs 1 Cor. vii 5, xi 20, xiv 23; Barnabas iv 10; 1 Clement xxxiv 7; Ignatius *Eph.* xiii 1, *Magn.* vii 1, *Philad.* vi 2, x 1. In all of these places, if we leave 1 Cor. vii 5 out of consideration, it practically means 'in church'; when Christians often come together to church, says St Ignatius (ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γίνεσθε, *Eph.* xiii 1), the power of Satan is destroyed.

I cannot agree with Professor Torrey that 'the incipient church in Jerusalem was not confined to any one meeting-place in such a way that the narrator could have said: "The Lord daily added new converts (and brought them) to the same place"' (p. 12, ll. 4-7). On the contrary, the narrator of Acts is very much occupied with laying emphasis upon the *congregation* of this earliest Christian Ecclesia. They were 'together', ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, when Matthias was elected, and again when the Spirit came at Pentecost. Now, notwithstanding the great increase in numbers, they are still 'together' (ii 44). A little later we hear that their regular place of assembly is Solomon's Porch (v 12). No doubt, as Professor Torrey says, they were not confined to any one meeting-place, they might go about from house to house. But they formed, as St Ignatius wished, only one congregation, and St Luke is most distinctly desirous to make this clear.

For these two reasons I cannot accept Professor Torrey's new explanation of Acts ii 47: I think that οἱ σωζόμενοι means the elect, not the visible Christian assembly; and I think the gathering together

of the congregation ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό is too nearly in accordance with St Luke's favourite ideas to be a mere mistranslation of a colourless adverb meaning 'very much'. It should be noted that προστιθέναι¹ is here used instead of συνάγειν, because St Luke is speaking of fresh additions to the society, not of the gathering together of scattered members: the assembly of the professed converts was getting day by day more and more to be a muster of the elect—the Lord was joining such as He had foreordained to be saved daily together.'

With regard to the word לְחַל (= 'very'), it may be remarked that it is found in all parts of the Targums, e.g. Ps. xlii 2 and Exod. i 7, corresponding to Hebrew מְאֹד. The word used to render Hebrew וְחַד and וְחַד is כְּחַד (Syr. ܟܚܕܐ).² If St Luke had been translating from an Aramaic document which had לְחַל, should we not have found εἰς ἕν, as in Joh. xvii 23, rather than ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό?

The next passage brought forward by Professor Torrey as a mistranslation is Acts iii 16: καὶ [ἐπὶ] τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ὃν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἣ δι' αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν ταύτην ἀπέναντι πάντων ὑμῶν. 'Why, in particular, was it necessary to obscure the sense and spoil the sound by the ugly repetition of τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ?' (p. 15)? Professor Torrey goes on to quarrel with the text on the ground that the power of the Name is distinguished from the power of faith in or through the Name, but this belief in the power of the Name of Jesus is surely characteristic of the narrator of Acts xvi 18, xix 13, 17,³ i.e. of St Luke himself. The grammatical difficulty, however, is serious, so serious that Lachmann proposed to make a stop after ἐστερέωσεν.

Professor Torrey's solution is to retranslate into his imagined original Aramaic, thus:

ובהימנותא די שְׁמָהּ לַחַד די חזון אנתון וידעין אנתון חקף שמה ודימנותא
די בה יבת לה חלימותא דא קדם כלבן.

The words overlined should be pointed חַקֵּף שְׁמָהּ ὁμοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, but St Luke read it חַקֵּף שְׁמָהּ ἐστερέωσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. The true

¹ It is a favourite word with St Luke, in whose writings it is used 13 times out of 17 occurrences in the whole N.T.

² The one instance of לְחַד in an Aramaic text being used for Hebrew וְחַד given by Prof. Torrey, viz. Is. xliii 17 in the Palestinian Lectionary (Gibson, p. 35), is irregular, as there was no direct connexion between the Hebrew and this late Christian Lectionary. In the duplicate (Gibson, p. 76) לְחַד is omitted in agreement with the Greek.

³ I should like here to record my conviction that ἀρχιερεὺς in Acts xix 14 means a man who professed to know the true pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton from family tradition, and thereby to work magical cures.

translation then should have been: 'And by faith in His name He hath made strong this one whom ye see and know; yea, the faith which is through Him hath given him this soundness before you all' (p. 16).

Even those who are not convinced must recognize the brilliance of this restoration, and were an Aramaic original for Acts i-xv an ascertained fact there would be little to say against it. But as the Aramaic original is, to my mind, a very doubtful hypothesis, let us see whether some other explanation of the difficulties of this passage is not possible. Professor Torrey sends us to Acts x 43 for a parallel, and I venture to think it does really give us a valuable hint, viz. that St Luke often uses an emphatic *τούτῳ* or *τούτῳ* (e.g. Lk. ix 26, Acts ii 23, 32, v 31, vii 35, x 40, xvi 3) to introduce a sentence. I suggest therefore that a colon be placed before *τούτῳ* and that the previous words be joined to the preceding verse.¹ The passage will then run: 'ye killed the Prince of Life, whom God raised from the dead, whereof we are witnesses, even to the faith in His Name: this man whom ye see and know His Name hath made strong, and the faith which is through Him hath given him this perfect soundness before you all.'

The *οὗ* in iii 15 is in itself vague, as in ii 32; it may be anything connected with Jesus and His resurrection. In Lk. xxiv 48 and Acts v 32 the Apostles' witness is to all the things connected therewith; here it is more closely referred to the only Name given to man for salvation (iv 12). By putting the stop before *τούτῳ*, 'ugly repetition' is turned into characteristically Lucan rhetoric.

As for the 'magical' power here ascribed to the Name of Jesus, is it not implied by the use of *φθέγγεσθαι* in Acts iv 18? Peter and John are there told not to *pronounce* the Name, which therefore is regarded as having virtue in itself.²

Professor Torrey's other examples of 'mistranslation' (iv 24 ff, viii 10, xi 27-30, xv 7) do not seem to me so plausible, and need not detain us so long. In iv 24 he gets rid of *στόματος* by regarding *διὰ στόματος* as a translation of *לפֿי* and (by the change of *הוּא* into *הֵיא*) turns *ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαβὶδ παιδός σου εἰπὼν* into 'that which our father, Thy servant David, said by the Holy Spirit', but he does not explain how *στόματος* came between *ἁγίου* and *Δαβὶδ*. In viii 10 he transfers by retranslation the epithet 'great' from *δύναμις* to *θεοῦ*, making Simon a worshipper of 'the Great God', i. e. the Jews'

¹ *ἐνί*, bracketed above by me, should be omitted with Westcott and Hort on the sufficient authority of *℣*^a B 4 61 and the Armenian.

² What, we may ask, is the Aramaic equivalent for *φθέγγεσθαι*? Its use in Acts iv 18 does not suggest to me 'translation Greek'. I would say the same of *ἀπεφθέγγατο* in Acts ii 14.

God. In xi 27-30 he reduces the famine over all the earth (τὴν οἰκουμένην) to a famine in the Land, i. e. the Holy Land only. The same thing occurs in Lk. ii 1, and there also Professor Torrey refers the exaggeration to a translator's slip.¹ In xv 7 he gets by retranslation: 'Ye know that from of old God chose you, that the Gentiles might hear, by my mouth, the word of the Gospel.' This is excellent, but is it not already present in the Greek? I do not think ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων refers to the events of chap. x, but to ἐξελέξατο, i. e. to Lk. xxiv 48 and the 'old days' of a former dispensation. The use of ἐν after (or rather, before) ἐξελέξατο is exactly paralleled in the Greek Bible by 1 Regn. xvi 9, 10 (καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐξελέξατο ὁ κύριος), and by using this construction St Luke is free to go on with an accusative and infinitive, which would have been impossible if he had put ὑμᾶς for ἐν ὑμῖν. It is a trailing construction, of course, giving (as I understand it) the effect of a condensed report of actual words used.

I venture to submit that Professor Torrey has not produced a compelling demonstration. It is on these six cases of alleged mis-translation that his case is founded, and I do not think his hypothesis of an Aramaic basis makes these passages any easier. The subsidiary evidence which he brings forward in § 4 is of various weight. The Note on i 18, πρηνὴς γενόμενος, seems to me inferior to Bp Chase's (*J. T. S.* xiii 271-285). In v 13 there is no contradiction with the following verse, as Professor Torrey assumes; Luke uses κολλᾶσθαι of attaching oneself to somebody without a regular introduction, which may sometimes be successful (Acts viii 29), but not always (ix 26). In any case Torrey's suggestion that κολλᾶσθαι is a mistranslation for 'contend' is highly improbable: I cannot find that כָּרַךְ or חָרַל is used in any form in Aramaic for to 'contend'. On v 28 I cannot see how the construction of παραγγελίᾳ παρηγγείλαμεν differs from that of ἀναθέματι ἀναθεματίσαμεν in xxiii 14, for an oath is not much more concrete than a command. On xi 22 εἰς τὰ ὦτα—'no Greek writer would ever have perpetrated this', says Professor Torrey. But does not Matt. x 27 suggest that it means a whispered report? εἰς τὰ ὦτα is common enough in the LXX, while on the other hand the Targums and the Peshitta (as in Gen. 1 4) occasionally get rid of this picturesque Hebrew locution. Here again, therefore, Luke is biblical, but not particularly Aramaic in style. 'xii 20. Θυμομαχῶν is presumably כָּרַךְ.' But if so, St Luke must have been a singularly free translator! On xiii 1 κατὰ τὴν οὐσαν ἐκκλησίαν Professor Torrey has omitted to notice

¹ It would make this Review too long to include Prof. Torrey's earlier tract on Lk. i, ii. Perhaps it is not out of place to say that there also I am not convinced, not even that in Lk. i 39 εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα ought to have been 'to the Province of Judaea'.

that the participle is not otiose, because it indicates that not all the Antiochian prophets were visitors as in xi 27. I suppose I must not point out the Lucan parallels Lk. xxii 3, Acts v 17, because of course they also are due to translation! On xiii 22 *εἰς βασιλεία*: this Hebrew idiom is good enough for the LXX (e. g. 2 Regn. v 3, and also 2 Regn. vi 21 *in the Greek only*), and it is good enough Old English for the Saxon Chronicle¹; but it is not Aramaic and is variously avoided in the Targums and the Peshitta (Nöldeke's *Grammar* § 247 note).

On xiv 17 Professor Torrey remarks: 'There is apparently a mis-translation of some sort here. It is no more agreeable to usage in Aramaic or Greek to speak of "filling hearts with food" than it is in English.' He suggests a confusion between מִכָּל 'from all' and מִכָּל (*sic*) 'food'. We might first ask where Torrey has found מִכָּל 'food' written defectively, but in any case I think most readers of the Book of Acts will prefer the old text to 'filling your hearts *with all* gladness'. There is, however, a further reason for accepting the Greek as it stands. Few critical conclusions appear to me so solidly founded as the dependence of certain sections of St Luke's Gospel upon Mark, and that in these sections St Luke uses no other source. One of these is Lk. xix 45–xxi 36, corresponding to Mk. xi 15–xiii 37; St Luke rewrites what is before him pretty freely, but he makes use of no other source. Whatever therefore differs in this section from the text of St Mark we may safely take as characteristic of St Luke's own style. When we turn to Lk. xxi 34 we read 'Take heed lest your *hearts* be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness'. The passage corresponds to Mk. xiii 33–36, but is entirely rewritten. I do not suggest that St Luke cherished any medical heresies on the functions of the heart; what is curious, is that it should be possible to confront Professor Torrey's piece of stylistic criticism with a rather close parallel. On p. 63 Torrey recurs to this passage (Acts xiv 15–17), referring back to the 'mistranslation' about food as if it were a thing proved. Surely there is something wrong in a literary theory which is obliged to lay stress upon the *contrast* between the speeches of St Paul at Lystra and at Athens! Professor Torrey actually claims ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα (without the article) as an Aramaism, forgetting 1 Thess. i 9.²

Finally, on xv 16–18 (p. 38), Professor Torrey does not bring out the great difficulty of regarding this citation of Amos ix 11, 12, as being based on anything but Greek. The original Hebrew of this passage,

¹ e. g. Leo IV is said to have hallowed Alfred 'to king'.

² It might conceivably be claimed as a Hebraism, though there is point in the absence of the Hebrew article in Josh. iii 10, Ps. xlii 3, &c. But in all these cases the Aramaic Targums actually insert an article (מִכָּל, *sic*)!

in complete accordance with the context, predicts that the 'tabernacle of David' will be raised up again *that it may get possession of the residue of Edom*, and this is attested by Targum and Peshitta. But the ancient Greek version, in its blundering ignorant way, translates אֲדָם by 'men' instead of 'Edom' and takes it to be the nominative, so that David's tabernacle is raised *that the residue of mankind may seek out*. This seems to me the very point of the quotation, as quoted in St James's speech. The value of the LXX to the modern textual critic is that of a witness to the Hebrew consonantal text which it attests; in Amos ix 12 we may infer that in that text אֲדָם was written 'defectively' (i.e. without ו) and that the אֶת before שְׂאִרֵי (i.e. the mark of the acc.) was omitted.¹ But there is no evidence that אֲדָם in this verse, however spelled, was ever taken to denote anything else but Edom by any other interpreter except the ancient Greek version. It is therefore improbable that any Aramaic document had 'men' and not 'Edom' in quoting this verse, and unless the faulty interpretation which introduces 'men' be retained I do not see that the passage is sufficiently appropriate to the context to be quoted at all. Surely it is much more simple to regard the whole introduction of Amos ix into St James's speech as due to St Luke himself, freely composing something that went in the direction that he understood St James to have taken. St Luke follows the LXX, as usual with him.²

There is, besides all this, one positive reason against regarding the early chapters of Acts as a translation from the Aramaic. In chapters iii and iv Jesus is called παῖς θεοῦ (iii 13, 26; iv 27, 30), a title found elsewhere in early Christian prayers, notably in the Didache and in 1 Clement. It is likely enough that St Luke was familiar with παῖς as a title for the Lord Jesus from the Christian worship of his day, and so put it into the mouth of St Peter and the earliest Christian community. But it is essentially a Greek title, essentially un-Semitic; it is only in Greek that the quite distinct idea of 'son' and 'slave' can be combined in one term. In Hebrew and Aramaic עֶבֶר (= 'slave') is used also for the worshipper of a God, who is thereby regarded as his Master and Lord (אֲדָם, κύριος); the 'servant of Jehovah' is, literally, the slave of Jahweh, עֶבֶר יְהוָה. Similarly the officials of the Jewish kings are spoken of as his slaves (4 Regn. xix 5); some of these were quite great folk in their way, but in polite speech with a still greater foreign official they talk of themselves as his slaves (4 Regn. xviii 26). This Oriental style was a little too servile for Greeks, so in such cases the Greek Bible uses not δοῦλοι but παῖδες, and perhaps it

¹ It is not expressed, as a matter of fact, in the Peshitta.

² As in Lk. iv 18, 19, which is made up from the LXX text of Isa. lxi 1, lviii 6^b, lxi 2^a.

was for this reason that the Greek Bible uses *παῖς* for the 'Servant' of the LORD in Isaiah (xlii 1, lii 13).

It is one thing to quote passages from the Prophets and to apply them in a general way to the Lord Jesus, as is done in Matt. xii 18 ff,¹ and quite another to take a particular term out of such passages and use it as a title. Christians from the beginning thought of Jesus as 'Son of God', *υἱὸς θεοῦ* (Mk. xiv 61, xv 39, Acts xiii 33, 1 Thess. i 9), but I do not think they ever called Him *δοῦλος θεοῦ* or עֶבֶד יְהוָה. On the other hand *παῖς θεοῦ* was unobjectionable; it seemed to combine the claim that He was Son of God with that of being the Suffering but Elect One prophesied about in Isaiah. But this convenient term is essentially Greek and cannot be represented in Aramaic. If Acts iv 24-30 be a translation from the Aramaic, then David in v. 25 and Jesus in vv. 27 and 30 must have been called either 'son' or 'slave', not some word that means either. It is not likely that David was called by the Aramaic equivalent of *υἱὸς θεοῦ*; is it likely that St Luke would have used the same title for both, if in his original, to which according to Professor Torrey's hypothesis he is so faithful, their titles were different in nature and dignity?

In conclusion it should be made quite clear that nothing that has been said in this paper is inconsistent with an occasional use by St Luke of Aramaic sources, written or oral. What I have tried to controvert is Professor Torrey's theory that Acts i-xv is as much a direct rendering from an Aramaic document, as e.g. Lk. v 12-vi 19 is a direct rendering of Mk. i 40-iii 19 from the rough wording of the Second Gospel into Lucan Greek.

¹ The quotation of Isa. xlii 1-4 in Matt. xii 18-21, in which *ὁ παῖς μου* occurs, agrees with the Hebrew better than the LXX does. In this respect it is similar to Matt. ii 15 (= Hos. xi 1) and some other O.T. passages peculiar to the First Gospel. But just as it retains *Name* instead of *Law* in v. 21 (= Isa. xlii 4 LXX), so it retains the *παῖς* of Isa. xlii 1 LXX, where *δοῦλος* would have been unacceptable to Christian ears. If the O.T. anthology from which our First Evangelist drew was written in 'Hebrew', it is evident that he was capable of 'interpreting' it very drastically.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE SEMITISMS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

IF one is to determine whether the author of the Fourth Gospel was a Jew from Palestine or, let us say, a hellenistic Christian native to Asia Minor, it is evidently of the utmost consequence to discover whether or no he was familiar with Hebrew and Aramaic. Yet amid the ever-increasing mass of Johannine studies in our language there is but little devoted to this aspect of the subject, and amid that little I do not know of any comprehensive survey of the evidence. It is partly, therefore, the practical needs of the lecture-room that have led me, with much diffidence, to attempt such a survey here; and I shall be well content if it be superseded by something better.

It appears necessary, as has been said, to take account both of Hebrew and Aramaic. For one whose native speech was Aramaic it would require very little effort to master Hebrew, and we can presuppose that none would know Hebrew who did not already speak Aramaic. Accordingly it is necessary, not merely to test the Old Testament quotations of the Gospel, to see whether knowledge of Hebrew must be assumed to explain them, but also to consider certain words and phrases which tend to shew familiarity with Aramaic. Although some individual items must carry much weight, still the argument is essentially a cumulative one, and even then one must remember that there is behind it a mass of internal evidence, detailed in many books, shewing the author's familiarity with people, places, customs, and the like. Taken in this concrete way, the evidence from language seems to me to amount to solid proof; that is to say, it seems practically impossible to suppose that the author of this Gospel was anything but an Aramaic-speaking Jew.

The first consideration is that of style, and there is little need to confine it to Hebrew or Aramaic as such. Dr Drummond has admirably summed up what is to be said on the point in his *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* pp. 359-361, from which I may be allowed to cull a few sentences:

'We may compare the proem of John with the preface of Luke. The latter consists of a single sentence. In about the same space the former has no less than eleven sentences, either connected by *καί* or left without any connecting particle . . . The purity of the Greek, combined with its general Hebraic structure, points to an author whose native tongue was

Aramaic, and who learned Greek sufficiently well to speak and write it correctly, but too late in life to become imbued with the genius of the language'.

M. Loisy in his *Quatrième Évangile* (p. 146) has freely borne witness to the same phenomenon, although it was scarcely to the interest of his general thesis to do so: 'si les pensées se ressentent de l'influence hellénique, la phrase est tout hébraïque'. It is unnecessary to labour the point; we pass to consider the Old Testament quotations.

Of these I propose to take first, three which appear more certainly to indicate a knowledge of Hebrew, and afterwards four rather doubtful cases. (1) In John vi 45 we find a quotation from Isa. liv 13 *καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδακτοὶ θεοῦ*. Here the words are independent of the preceding verse, as in the Hebrew, whereas the Septuagint has *καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς σου διδακτοὺς θεοῦ*, after a preceding *θήσω*. (2) In John xiii 18 we read: *ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπήρην ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ*, from Ps. xli 9 (xl 10), where the Septuagint has *ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ περνιασμόν*, which latter seems to be correctly rendered in the current Latin psalter, *magnificavit super me supplantationem*. Dr Drummond remarks, 'This correction cannot be accidental' (*Character*, &c. p. 363). (3) John xix 37 *ὁψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*, from Zech. xii 10, where the Septuagint has *ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*, reading, by an interchange of letters, *ἰρῆ for ἰρῆ*: *ἐξεκέντησαν* also occurs in Rev. i 7. Theodotion has *καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*, Aquila *σὺν ᾧ ἐξεκέντησαν*, Symmachus *ἐπεξεκέντησαν*: cf. Field's *Origenis Hexapla*, ad loc. This is the last of the three passages in which Dr Westcott (*St John's Gospel* p. xiv) simply asserts that the Gospel agrees with the Hebrew against the LXX. Dr Drummond, besides this and the preceding Old Testament quotation, only speaks of John xii 40; on the present passage he remarks (p. 365) that 'the recourse to Theodotion is rather a makeshift, which is not supported by evidence, and, if it were, would not materially alter the argument'. Nevertheless he thinks that 'it is quite possible that, before any revision was actually undertaken, it may have become a matter of common knowledge, among those who cared for the Scriptures, that certain passages required emendation'. As against this it may be urged (1) that, on the face of it, the most likely hypothesis in any given case in which the Hebrew is followed against the LXX is knowledge of the Hebrew; (2) that the whole argument, as has been said, is of cumulative force.

To come now to the four cases that I have called rather doubtful, and first of all (1) to Dr Drummond's remaining passage, John xii 40 (pp. 361-362), from Isa. vi 9-10; the reversion to the active (though not to the imperative) of the Hebrew is rather striking, especially as the

passive of the LXX is retained in Matt. xiii 15. Next, working backwards, we have (2) the rather interesting case of John xii 15 from Zech. ix 9, where the Hebrew reads (R.V.), 'riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass', the waw being epexegetic. But the LXX has ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον, which at least might more easily be understood of *two* animals; and that it is so understood in Matt. xxi 5 seems to be clear from the context (Matt. xxi 2-7). It is true that the colt alone is mentioned in Mark and Luke, but they do not quote the prophecy, and it may well be significant that St John, quoting the prophecy alone, should revert to the exact sense of the original. On the question of fact, it may be worth while to refer to a note in the *Expository Times* of May, 1917, where it is shewn how natural it would be for the mother-ass to keep the colt company. The third passage (3) is the word ὡσαννά in John xii 13. It occurs twice in the same context in Mark, and thrice in Matthew, and therefore much stress cannot be laid upon it. Still, it represents a Hebrew cry (cf. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* p. 222: *Aramäische Grammatik*, ed. 2, p. 249), and while it might be repeated from the primitive Aramaic story in the first two Gospels, the third shews us how a hellenistic writer might avoid it; all the more so when, like St John, he was deliberately writing an entire gospel of his own, and not merely, so to speak, editing common material. Perhaps we should note also in this connexion the cry ἀλληλουιά in Rev. xix 1-6. Finally, (4) it seems not unlikely that, as I ventured to suggest in the *Expositor* for May, 1906 (p. 428), we may have in John ii 16 a reference preserved to the Hebrew of Zech. xiv 21, always supposing (with the *Oxford Hebrew Dictionary*) that כַּנְעִי should probably be translated 'trader' rather than *Xavavaïos*, as in the Septuagint.

The force of the argument from Old Testament quotations is heightened by the fact that, as Dr Westcott mentions (p. xiv), nowhere does the Gospel text agree with the LXX against the Hebrew. In his 'additional note to John xviii 1', where there might seem to be an exception, he shews from the LXX that the words τῶν Κέδρων probably give the current Greek name, partly due no doubt to assonance with the Hebrew name 'Kidron'.

We pass on to consider a number of Aramaic words, generally explained by the author himself, which, taken cumulatively, point to his having at one time spoken the Palestine vernacular. The relation of English to Welsh in Wales, as the late Dr Moulton remarked in the opening chapter of the *Prolegomena* to his projected New Testament Grammar, is much like the relation of Greek to Aramaic in New Testament times; and we can easily imagine a former native, after removal to England, recalling and explaining in his memoirs Welsh terms that

would have no interest for an Englishman. In the study of the following words the writer is chiefly indebted to Dr Dalman's three works, the *Words of Jesus* and *Aramäische Grammatik* already referred to, and his *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*. For the words discussed below the reader may be referred once for all to the indexes of the first two works.

First, then, we have (1) *ῥαββει* (John eight times, Matt. four, Mark four, otherwise not in N. T.) which is translated the first time it is used (John i 38), as is also the expanded form *ῥαββουει*, the single time that it occurs (John xx 16: otherwise only Mark x 51). Dr Dalman has much to say on this term (*Words of Jesus* pp. 324-340). The word (2) *Μεσσίας* is found in John i 42, iv 25, and not elsewhere in N. T., and is translated in both passages; the word appears to be based on the Aramaic form. St John calls St Peter (3) *Κηφᾶς* in John i 43, and translates the term; it is used eight times by St Paul (1 Cor. 4, Gal. 4), but otherwise not in N. T. St Paul was accustomed to call St Peter by that name, the Aramaic *כִּפְיָא*, for which Dr Dalman in his dictionary gives the first meaning as 'rock' ('Felsen'), citing Num. xx 8 in the Onkelos Targum. St Paul uses *Πέτρος* only in Gal. ii 7-8. It is a curious fact that the two New Testament writers often supposed to have been the most affected by hellenistic influences are also the most evidently at home in Aramaic. St John does not refer to the explanation of the name *כִּפְיָא* in Matt. xvi 18, but gives the fulfilment of the promise there made (John xxi 16-17), just as he gives the foreshadowing of the Holy Eucharist (John vi), but not the institution; such traits have their place amid the multitude of other indications that he was deliberately supplementing the Synoptics. He doubtless came to use *Πέτρος* for *Κηφᾶς*, but it is surely an authentic touch in his Gospel that he does not seem quite at home with the former, but only uses it along with *Σίμων*. The two occur together seventeen times in the Gospel, and *Πέτρος* occurs alone in the Gospel seventeen times, but always when the two names together have just preceded. The author seems never to have come to a familiar use of the new name; a friend does not easily change the name of his friend. Like the other evangelists, he represents Christ Himself as calling St Peter 'Simon': the only exception seems to be Luke xxii 34: may not this latter passage contain a touch of irony? Such irony Christ could use, and St Paul too (e.g. Luke xi 48, 2 Cor. xi 19). In any case we may contrast all this with the simple 'Peter' of Acts, and we may compare the somewhat similar evolution of the name 'Christ' itself. *Σίμων* seems to be a Greek name, perhaps used by St Peter in Greek as the best equivalent of the Jewish name *Συμεών*, the form of his name found in Acts xv 14, 2 Peter i 1, and not elsewhere. We may compare Saul taking the

name of Paul, probably in part after Sergius Paulus, a fact which appears to be hinted at in the Acts by the close proximity of the first mention of each (Acts xiii 7-9) : or Jesus, Onias's brother, taking the name of Jason (Josephus *Antiq.* xii 5. 1). Some other examples are given in Prof. Deissmann's *Bible Studies* (ed. 2 p. 315), and we have already seen a curious parallel in the case of the torrent Kidron (p. 332).

Another interesting name is (4) Βηθζαθά in John v 2, a reading adopted by Westcott and Hort, who thus forsake for once, and with some reluctance, the *Codex Vaticanus*. But in discussing the meaning of the name they fail to realize that, as M. Lepin (*L'Origine du Quatrième Évangile* p. 400) points out, following upon H. Holtzmann and M. Loisy, it is probably translated by *προβατική* and therefore the 'Western' reading, with *Προβατική* in the nominative instead of ἐπὶ τῇ *προβατικῇ*, may be correct ; in which case it was the failure to grasp the real sense that led to the Sheep-gate being dragged in, presumably from Nehem. iii 1, 32 ; xii 39. The second part of Βηθζαθά would presumably represent some such form as מִיתָּ given by Levy in his *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* (s.v. מִיתָּ) for 'ewe' ; Dr Dalman in his dictionary gives מִיתָּ and also, like Levy, the variant מִיתָּ, though he himself takes Βηθζαθά to be מִיתָּ יֵית 'the place of the olive-tree' (*Grammatik* p. 147). The passage of *θ* into *a* is not so very unusual ; that of *י* is less frequent, yet by no means unknown. One may compare, for example, the Vatican reading Ἀσσάρ and its cognates in Josh. xv 10 ; the last syllable of the word must represent שָׁעִיר. And in the case before us the extreme difficulty of pronouncing the two preceding consonants doubtless contributed to the thinning of the following vowel.

Prof. Schmiedel remarks in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (art. John, vol. ii col. 2542) that the author of the Fourth Gospel (5) 'rightly explains Σιλωάμ (a distortion of the Heb. שִׁילּוֹם) as meaning ἀπεσταλμένος'. But Dr Souter appears to be following the more general opinion when he says in his *Pocket Lexicon to the Greek N.T.* that 'the name is Aramaic and really a substantive (= discharge or gushing forth of water)'. Hence it may not have been without a certain symbolic purpose that the evangelist rendered the meaning by a personal participle. Dr Drummond, however, thinks (*Character, &c.* p. 373) that the interpretation, 'though probably not the one from which the pool really received its name, is nevertheless grammatically admissible'. All the more, then, might it never serve as a popular explanation. In any case there can be no doubt that the underlying root is שָׁלַח. The name (6) Θωμᾶς occurs in four places in the Gospel (John xi 16, xiv 5, xx 24-28, xxi 2), and only on the second occasion is it left untranslated ; it therefore seems all the more natural to suppose that St Thomas really was a twin ! In the case of the name (7) Γαββαθᾶ (John xix 13) the interest lies rather in

the fact that the evangelist does *not* translate it; the piazza, if such we should call it, had different names in Greek and Aramaic, and he knew both. Such a case is not uncommon in Wales; Swansea is Abertawe and St Asaph is Llanelwy. Dr Dalman interprets Gabbatha as being 'the baldness of the forepart of the head' (*Words of Jesus* p. 7). He takes (8) Γολγοθᾶ (John xix 17) to represent ܡܬܠܗܐ (Words of Jesus p. 7); it is also translated in the first two Gospels (Matt. xxvii 33, Mark xv 22), but St Luke, whom we have already seen omitting ὠσαννά (p. 332), does not so much as name it.

I now turn to the word (9) Ἰσκαριώτης (John four times, Matt. twice, Mark once, Luke once; note also Ἰσκαριώθ, Mark twice, Luke once), but rather by way of answering a difficulty than of urging a further argument; for it might be said that the evangelist should have detected the Hebrew שׂרָא that doubtless supplies the first syllable of the Greek word, and not have amalgamated it with the syllables representing the name of the place. Yet, in spite of the Ἰσκαριώθ, thrice found, it seems likely that Ἰσκαριώτης was a form really attaching to Judas in Greek, for in two out of four cases St John is using it of Judas's father, Simon (John vi 71, xiii 26). Such curious anomalies do occur in the passing of words from language to language; we may compare the retention of the Arabic article in alcohol, alcove, algebra, almanac, &c.

Closely akin to that from Aramaic words will be the argument, if such can be made, from words requiring the Aramaic to explain them. One such case there seems to me to be in the Fourth Gospel, and I have set it out in the *Recherches de Science religieuse*, published by the French Jesuit Fathers (vol iii p. 597, 1912: *Le verbe ὑψοῦν dans saint Jean*). To repeat only what is most essential, one has to explain how the Jews understand the passive of ὑψοῦν in John xii 32, 34 as necessarily implying death. There does not seem to be any sufficient warrant for this in Greek itself, but it can certainly be found in the verb הָרָא, which both in Hebrew and Aramaic means 'to raise up' (cf. *Oxford Hebrew Dictionary*), but in Ezra vi 11 (cf. Bp Ryle *ad loc.*, in *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*) implies impalement or crucifixion. Both in Aramaic and Syriac (cf. Levi, Buxtorf, and Payne Smith) הָרָא and ܠܒ are the two roots whence are derived the various words concerned with crucifixion.¹

Perhaps a word should also be added here on the words τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι; (John ii 4), which I discussed at some length in three letters to the *Tablet* (February 17, March 3, April 7, 1917).² The use of γύναι seems to be absolutely Greek; it is used, as Liddell and Scott put it,

¹ [But see the following Note by Dr Burkitt.]

² [See also Dr Burkitt's Note on the phrase in the *JOURNAL* vol. xiii (1912) pp. 594 f.]

'often as a term of respect and affection'. The main idiom, in its essential features, occurs eight times in the Old Testament and five times in the New; the Septuagint always reproduces the Hebrew idiom, so that no argument for the purpose of this article can be based upon it. It means *laissez-moi tranquille*, 'let me be', as the small French Crampon Bible puts it (in a note on John ii 4), but, *en bonne ou mauvaise part*, the tone may be friendly or unfriendly. More often it is unfriendly, but it is distinctly friendly in 2 Chron. xxxv 21, and the sequence sufficiently shews in what sense it was uttered here. The Hebrew idiom is concerned with *persons*; there are traces of a Greek idiom concerned with *things*. Demosthenes (*contra Aphobum*, ch. 12, ed. Reiske p. 855) says, *Τί τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ βασάνῳ*; 'The law is clear on the point without any need to resort to torture'. Again, in Suetonius's Latin *Lives of the Caesars*, in a passage which I have not seen quoted before, we read that Otho said, *Τί γάρ μοι καὶ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς*; meaning, 'Why did I not leave the long pipes (business) alone', and apparently referring to a bad omen when he was acting as augur (Suet. *Otho*, 7). We also have a similar expression used by Synesius, a Christian bishop of the early fifth century (Epistle 105): *Δήμῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ τί πρὸς ἄλληλα*; This is an excuse for his *polo episcopari*, and is an important contribution to the explanation of the phrase.

Reference has been made once and again in the foregoing to the Apocalypse of John, but without serious attempt to build up a case from it. If once it were allowed to have the same author as the Fourth Gospel, the thesis set forth in this article could be greatly strengthened; but it seems unlikely that those who find a difficulty in the thesis would admit such a premise. Nor, truth to tell, does the thesis really need such support; taken, as was said at the outset, as one great cumulative argument, the evidence already adduced appears of itself to amount to solid proof.

CUTHBERT LATTEY.

ON 'LIFTING UP' AND 'EXALTING'.

DR E. A. ABBOTT in his exegetical studies on the Gospels has a great deal to say about 'lifting up'. According to him, 'lifting up' in the Fourth Gospel always implies Christ's Passion and Ascension (*Diatesseron* vii, 2998 (xxiii) e). There can of course be no doubt that the Evangelist connects the 'exaltation' of the Serpent in the Wilderness with the Crucifixion (John iii 14, xii 32-34), and at the same time regards

this 'exaltation' as some sort of glorification. The Greek word is *ὑψοῦν*, a word which lends itself well enough to the double meaning, but which as a matter of fact is not used in the Septuagint in connexion with Moses' brazen Serpent.

The object of this Note is not to criticize Dr Abbott's general position, but merely to enter a warning against so understanding his § 1003 c (*From Letter to Spirit* p. 360 note ¹) as to suppose that the Aramaic root זקף has anything to do with this connexion of the idea of 'crucifixion' and 'exaltation'.

The passages in St John are so familiar that we naturally now associate the word 'lift up' with the Crucifixion of our Lord. When therefore we find that זקף (also זקף) means both 'to lift up' and 'to crucify' or 'impale', it seems natural to assume that the Fourth Evangelist came to his theory of the 'lifting up' of the Son of Man by a Semitic path, that the theory must have been made by one who spoke or thought in Aramaic. The point of this Note is to shew that the 'lifting up' implied in זקף and its derivatives is of the nature of 'fixing', 'hanging', 'staking', or 'straightening', hardly ever of 'raising to a higher level'. There is an Aramaic word exactly corresponding to *ὑψοῦν*, viz. ארים (Heb. הרים), which like *ὑψοῦν* generally means to 'exalt' in a more or less metaphorical sense, but can also be used of 'raising to a higher level' (e.g. Joshua iv 5). This is the word used by the Syriac Versions for the passages in St John,¹ but it has no associations at all, apart from the context of these passages, with crucifixion or the stake.

The word זקף appears to mean 'to set up by fixing firm', e.g. Aphraates 278 ܐܡܗ ܕܥܡܢ ܕܥܡܢ ܕܥܡܢ 'God fixed the mountains on the earth'; Ephraim *Against Hypatius* ii (E R 65, 14) quotes Mani as saying that the Primal Man flayed the Sons of Darkness, and out of their bones He moulded and fixed (ܐܡܗ) and piled up the mountains. In Gen. xxxi 45 Jacob with Laban set up a Stele (ܐܝܪܝܡܐ ܡܥܒܐ): in the Targum this is rendered ܐܡܗ ܕܥܡܢ 'and he fixed it up for a standing stone'.² But in Joshua iv 5, where the men take up the stones on their shoulders, and in 2 Kings ii 13, where Elisha takes up Elijah's mantle, זקף is not used for ארים, because the object lifted up is not fixed.

It is quite in accordance with this that *zḳfā* ('a thing fixed', hence 'a stake') should be used for the Greek *σταῦρος* in the N. T. There is another Aramaic word for 'cross', *šbā*, but for some reason it was almost always avoided in the earliest Syriac version: I do not think any difference of meaning can be detected.

¹ The Palestinian Syriac has ܐܪܝܡܐ, another form of the same root.

² ܐܡܗ is regularly used in the Targums for the unorthodox *Maṣṣēba* of the Hebrew.

One or two idiomatic uses of 𐤒𐤓 here call for notice. There is an easy transition from 'being fixed up' to 'standing up', so that in the Targums 𐤒𐤓 is occasionally used in this sense, as in the case of Joseph's Sheaf (Gen. xxxvii 7).¹ In Syriac it is used for the 'bristling' of hair standing on end (Job iv 15), and this idea I think underlies the use of 𐤒𐤓 for a squally sea; in English also we say the sea 'got up', and both this and the Syriac suggest the aspect of a wild beast with its coat bristling rather than mere altitude of waves.

That a man who holds his hand up in prayer or asseveration should be said to 'fix' his hand is another natural usage (Exod. xvii 11, Deut. xxxii 40 in the Jerus. Targums). More curious is the use of our word in such phrases as 𐤒𐤓 𐤂𐤓 (Deut. iii 27), i. e. '*lift up* thine eye!' Here again I venture to think that if we analyse the notion, it is rather that of 'fixing up' than of 'elevation', because in all branches of Aramaic there is a synonym 𐤏𐤓 𐤒𐤓, *lit.* 'to hang the eyes'. Thus in Psalm cxxiii 2 there is no verb in the Hebrew, which runs 'as the eyes of slaves unto the hand of their masters . . . so our eyes unto the LORD our God': the Targum supplies מוֹדִיקִין (= 'gaze'), but in the First Targum to Esther v 14 we read that the House of Jacob prayed to their Father in Heaven saying 'as the eyes of slaves *hang* (𐤒𐤓) to their masters . . . so our eyes *hang* upon Thee'. And the Sinai Palimpsest at John vi 11, following the arrangement of the Diatessaron xviii 38-40 (see Mark vi 41), inserts before καὶ εὐχαρίστησεν the words 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓, i. e. ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, *lit.* 'and He hung (His eyes) in heaven'. This use of 𐤒𐤓 for 'lift up the eyes' is regularly employed in the Palestinian Christian documents.

This Note was written mainly to make the actual usage of 𐤒𐤓 in the various Aramaic dialects more clear to my own mind, and it will for instance be obvious to any one who has considered the examples given above that 𐤒𐤓 (or 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓) would be quite impossible to be used for the Ascension. The chief conclusion is that near as the ideas of 'lifting up' and 'exaltation' are, they were kept distinct in Aramaic as in other languages, and that the peculiar conjunction of *crucifixion* and *exaltation*, found in the Fourth Gospel, is a deliberate association of ideas, not a linguistic confusion.

¹ The only occurrences of 𐤒𐤓 in Biblical Hebrew (Ps. cxlv 14, cxlvi 8) refer to straightening what is bent.

F. C. BURKITT.

ἀγαπητός.¹

I ἀγαπητός,² verbal adjective from ἀγαπάω, and so properly *worthy of love, loveable*: Origen in *Io.* xx 23 [on viii 4] ἄξιά ἐστιν τὰ ἀγαπητὰ τοῦ ἀγαπᾶσθαι . . . τὰ ἀγαπητὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἀγαπᾶται: Basil *Hom. in Ps.* xlv [xlv] (on the title ὡδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ) τὸ κυρίως ἀγαπητὸν ὁ θεός, . . . οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ τέλειον χωρῆσαι ἀγάπης καὶ τὸν ὄντως ἀγαπητὸν ἐπιγινῶναι, *Hom. in Ps.* cxiv [cxvi] on v. 1 πάντα αὐτῷ [i. e. to the Psalmist] ἀγαπητὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπην.

II But probably the consciousness of this shade of meaning may have been confined to scholars like Origen and Basil: its regular use in Christian Greek from the beginning is *beloved*, and the word was, since ἀγάπη was the characteristic Christian virtue, the habitual designation—as an alternative to ἀδελφοί, or in combination with it—of Christians for one another. The N.T. use of it with proper names alone ‘Persis the beloved’, ‘To Gaius the beloved’ (Rom. xvi 12, 3 Jo. i) tended indeed to disappear (for one reason of this from the later fourth century onwards see Theodoret, *V ad fin.*): but in combination with a noun or noun and possessive pronoun (e. g. Dion. Alex. *Ep. ad Basilidem* τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου νῖῳ καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ . . . ἀγαπητὲ νίε μου, Feltoe 94. 1, 105. 7) it was always common, and in addressing Christians or the Christian community, whether in sermons or in letters, the use of the vocative ἀγαπητέ, ἀγαπητοί was as regular after N.T. as in the N.T. books; e. g. Clem. *ad Cor.* has it seventeen times.

III *Only, unique*: especially *Only Son*. This was the proper use of ἀγαπητός in classical Greek: primarily of children ‘an only child’, but

¹ It is intended to publish from time to time in the JOURNAL drafts of articles on some of the more important words to be included in the proposed Lexicon of Patristic Greek. They will be contributed by different writers, but will not always be signed: nor will the arrangement and method be quite as compendious as will be necessary in the Lexicon itself. But it is greatly hoped that readers of the JOURNAL will contribute criticisms of such articles, or additional material amplifying or rectifying the original article. Communications should be addressed to the care of the editor of the Lexicon, Pusey House, Oxford.

² With regard to pre-Christian usage, it may be noted that in classical Greek the word ἀγάπη is unknown (though ἀγάπησις is found in the Platonic *Ὀροι*, in Aristotle *Metaphysics* i 1 and in the fragments of the Stoic Chrysippus), and that ἀγαπάω means mainly ‘to be contented with’ (cf. VI below): ἀγαπητός would therefore properly be ‘what one has to be contented with’, and so ‘all that one has’, and then finally ‘the exclusive object of interest or affection’.

not exclusively. Thus Pollux *Onomasticon* iii 2 καλοῖτο ἂν υἱὸς ἀγαπητὸς ὁ μόνος ὢν πατρὶ ἢ μητρὶ· ὡς περ καὶ ἀγαπητὴ θυγάτηρ καὶ μονογενὴς καθ' Ἡσίοδον: Hesychius *Lexicon* s.v. ἀγαπητόν· μονογενή, κεχαρισμένον. And so we find in Aristotle *Politics* ii 4 (1262 b) δύο γὰρ ἔστιν ἃ μάλιστα ποιεῖ κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ φιλεῖν, τό τε ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν: *Eudemian Ethics* iii 6. 3 (1233 b) οἷον εἰ εἰς γάμον δαπανῶν τις τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ, πλούσιος ὢν, δοκεῖ πρέπειν ἑαυτῷ τοιαύτην κατασκευὴν οἷον ἀγαθοδαίμονιαστὰς ἐστιῶντι: *Rhetoric* i 7. 41 καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν καὶ τοῖς μὲν μόνον, τοῖς δὲ μετ' ἄλλων· διὸ καὶ οὐκ ἴση ζημία, ἂν τις τὸν ἑτερόφθαλμον τυφλώσῃ καὶ τὸν δὴ ἔχοντα, ἀγαπητόν γὰρ ἀφῆρηται, where the argument appears to be exactly parallel to Nathan's parable of the one ewe lamb—'other people have more lambs (or more eyes, or what not), my client had only one.' This use passed into LXX, e.g. Gen. xxii 2, 12, 16 (in v. 2 Cyprian's Bible had 'filium tuum illum unicum', but v. 16 'dilectissimo'), Jud. xi 34 (A and Lucian), Am. viii 10, Zach. xii 10, Jer. vi 26, Tob. iii 10 N: it must have been known to St Paul when he substituted in Rom. viii 31 τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ for τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ υἱοῦ of Gen. xxii 16: it is the natural meaning of ἕνα ἔσχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν in the parable of the husbandmen, Mk. xii 6, Lk. xx 13 (cod e 'filium meum unicum'), and in Hermas *Sim.* v 2. 6 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν ἀγαπητόν εἶχε καὶ κληρόνομον¹: and it is an open question whether ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός in the Gospel narratives of the Baptism and Transfiguration should not be interpreted in this sense, cf. Daniel Heinsius *Exercitationes sacrae ad N. T.* (Leyden, 1639) on Mk. i 11. The following quotations will at least suggest that such was the dominant exegesis in the early Church. So expressly Athanasius: *Or. c. Ar.* iv 24 καὶ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ περὶ Υἱοῦ πολλὰ λέγεται, οἷον . . . ὥδ' ἔπερ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ [Ps. xlv (xlv) *tit.*], καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ [Is. v 1] . . . ζῆμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τῷ ἀμπελώνῳ μου . . . τὸ δὲ ἀγαπητὸς τίς ἂν εἴη ἢ υἱὸς μονογενὴς . . . ταῦτόν γὰρ ἔστιν τό τε μονογενὲς καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν, ὡς τὸ Οὔτός ἐστιν ὁ γίός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην σημᾶναι θέλων εἶπε τὸ ἀγαπητός (ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους μισεῖν δόξῃ) ἀλλὰ τὸ μονογενὲς ἐδήλου ἵνα τὸ μόνον ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸν δείξῃ. καὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ γοῖν σημᾶναι θέλων ὁ Λόγος· τὸ μονογενὲς φησι. Προσένεγκε τὸν γίόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν· παντὶ δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς Σάρρας μόνον εἶναι τὸν Ἰσαάκ: *ib.* iv 29 τὸ δὲ ἀγαπητόν καὶ Ἕλληνες ἴσασιν οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τὰς λέξεις, ὅτι ἴσον ἔστιν τῷ εἰπεῖν μονογενὴς· φησὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρος [*Od.* ii 365] . . . μοῦνος ἐὼν ἀγαπητός . . . ὁ ἄρα μόνος ὢν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγαπητὸς λέγεται. Other fathers who bring ἀγαπητός into collocation with μονογενὴς (as in Jud. xi 34 [A Lucian] of Jephthah's daughter, αὐτὴ μονογενὴς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητή, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ πλὴν αὐτῆς), and therefore presumably interpret the one by the other, are: Iren. *Haer.* iv 5. 3 (of Abraham) τὸν ἴδιον μονογενὴ καὶ ἀγαπητόν

¹ This is apparently the true reading: cf. the Latin version 'quem carum et heredem habebat'.

παραχωρήσας θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐδοκήσῃ . . . τὸν ἴδιον μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν θυσίαν παρασχεῖν. Eus. *eccl. theol.* i 10 (68. 15) ὁ ἀληθῶς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἅτε διὰ πατρὸς ἀποτεχθεὶς, εἰκότως καὶ μονογενὴς καὶ ἀγαπητὸς χρηματίσειεν ἂν τοῦ πατρὸς, and *ib.* i 20 (86. 8), ii 7 (104. 23), ii 20 (129. 27), c. *Marcell.* i 1 (2. 14); cf. *eccl. theol.* ii 14 (118. 6) λόγον μὲν ὄντα καθ' ὃ . . . θεὸν δὲ καὶ μονογενῆ καθ' ὃ μόνος ἀληθῶς ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ, υἱὸς γνήσιος ὄντως καὶ ἀγαπητός, τῷ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα ἀφωμωμένος, and apart from any christological reference *laud.* *Const.* xiii 6, 7 (238. 12, 17) τὰ μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὰ τῶν τέκνων κατασφάττειν . . . ἔθνον τὰ ἀγαπητὰ καὶ μονογενῆ τῶν τέκνων. *Ap. Const.* iii 17. 4 X. ὁ μονογενὴς θεὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός υἱός, cf. viii 12. 31. Greg. Nyss. *de deitate Filii et Sp. S.* (ii 905) (of Abraham) λάβε μοι, φησι, τὸν γιόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν τὸν μονογενῆ. ὄρα τὰ κέντρα τοῦ λόγου, πῶς κεντεῖ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ σπλάγχνα . . . καὶ υἱὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μονογενῆ καλῶν;¹ So probably Serapion πάντας πρὸς ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου υἱοῦ ἔλκων in his εὐχὴ προσφόρου (*J. T. S.* i 105), his ordinary phrase being τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου 'I. X. Both interpretations of ἀγαπητός are apparently combined by St Basil (*in Ps.* xlv [xlv] *tit.*: partly quoted above): ἀγαπητός τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὡς μονογενὴς, τῇ κτίσει δὲ πάσῃ ὡς πατήρ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ ἐστὶν τῇ φύσει καὶ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν διότι καλῶς ὤρισαντο ἤδη τινὲς ἀγαθὸν εἶναι οὐ πάντα ἐφίεται [Aristotle *Ethics* i 1]: and by St Chrysostom *Hom.* xiii *in Mt.* (iii 17) 162 C φωνὴ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος κηρύττουσα τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὴν ἀξίαν . . . ἢ λέγουσα οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γιός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, 165 A οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς θεοῦ κατασκευάσας καὶ ἀγαπητοὺς οὕτως ἔλκει πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν λῆξιν ἡμᾶς. There does not indeed appear to be any trace of ἀγαπητός = μονογενὴς in Origen; his comment on Matt. xvii 5 ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς φωνὴ μαρτυροῦσα τῷ υἱῷ ὡς ἀγαπητῷ καὶ εὐδοκῇ, *In Matt. Tom.* xii § 42, suggests that he interpreted ἀγαπητός and εὐδοκῇ as on the same plane, and if this is the right interpretation it perhaps covers the similar phrase in St Polycarp's prayer *Mart. Pol.* 14 ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου 'I. X. πατήρ, though Origen himself of course often interprets quite independently of the exegetical tradition.

IV In pseudepigraphic Christian (and in Jewish?) writings ὁ ἡγαπημένος (see under ἀγαπάω) seems to be used as a title of Messiah *The Beloved*, and ἀγαπητός may have followed suit from the apparent

¹ These passages seem amply sufficient to shew that μονογενὴς and ἀγαπητός are used as equivalent or as exegetical the one of the other (and one might perhaps add to them *Ep. ad Diognetum* 8. 11 διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδός, 10. 2 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ); and if so, there would remain no ground for the suspicion expressed by Dr Hort (*Two Dissertations* p. 49 n.) that some of the writers cited read both words in their LXX text of Genesis.

identity of meaning of the two words: see Dr J. Armitage Robinson's note in his *Ephesians* [1903] pp. 229–233, who would further equate the ὁ γίος μου ὁ ἀγαπητός of Mt. xvii 5 with the ὁ γίος μου ὁ ἐκκληεγμένος of Lk. ix 35. So the *Ascension of Isaiah* iii 13 ἐξέλευσιν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐβδόμου οὐρανοῦ (L 'adventum dilectissimi de septimo caelo'), iv 3 οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ. *Acta Philippi* 19 (Bonnet 10. 21–25) ὦ πάτερ ἅγιε . . . πέμψον σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν Ἰ. Χ. ἐλέγξει τὸν ἄπιστον ἀρχιερέα, ἵνα τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐν τῷ ἀγαπητῷ Χριστῷ δοξασθῇ. This class of writings is more likely to have been influenced by Jewish, and less by classical, usage than were the fathers cited under III: and therefore it may well have interpreted ὁ ἀγαπητός, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, of Christ in a different sense to that predominantly found in the fathers.

V ἀγαπητή, and less frequently ἀγαπητός, a *spiritual lover*: not apparently till after the middle of the fourth century: used in Latin also, e.g. Jerome *ep.* xxii 14 'unde in ecclesias **agapetarum** pestis introiit? unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? immo unde novum concubinarum genus? unde meretrices univirae?' Epiph. *Haer.* lxiii 2 κατηγοροῦσι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς ἀγαπητὰς λεγομένας συνεισάκτους γυναῖκας κεκτημένων: *ib.* lxxviii 11 (of the Virgin as commended to St John) μὴ τοῦτο στραφῇ εἰς βλάβην τισι καὶ δόξωσιν ἐν τούτῳ λαμβάνειν πρόφασιν συνεισάκτους καὶ ἀγαπητὰς ἐπικαλουμένας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπινοεῖν. Greg. Naz. *Epigram.* xx (Epigrams x–xx are on the same subject: x, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi contain the word) 7 τῶν Χριστῷ ζώντων καὶ τερπομένων ἀγαπηταῖς: μὴ πού τοὺς μεγάλους αἶρα φέρεи καμάτους. | ἡ πῦρ ἢ ἐκ πυρὸς σημήϊα τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς | τὴν εἰκαζομένην φεύγετε σωφροσύνην. *ib.* xviii 3 Χριστὸν ἔχεις ἀγαπητόν, ἀπόπτυσον ἄνδρας ἅπαντας. Ps-Athanasius *Syntagma Doctrinae ad Monachos* [ed. Bened. ii 361 B] μὴ ἔχειν γυναῖκα συνεισάκτον, καθάπερ τινὲς ἀγαπητὰς ἐπέθεντο αὐταῖς ὀνόματα. Basil (? the treatise was first published from a Florence MS in 1763; Migne, xxx 811) *Sermo de Contubernaliibus* 2 εἰ [Πέτρος] εἶχεν ἀγαπητὴν (sc. ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα of 1 Cor. ix 5), καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐκείνου ἔχουσιν ἐπακολουθοῦμεν, 4 ἀγαπητὴ γὰρ ἦτω διὰ Χριστὸν ἕως τοῦ χαίρειν, 11 πολλάκις τις κόρη τοῖς ἰδίοις γονεῦσι μὴ ἐξυπηρετησαμένη . . . αὕτη σπουδαία εἰς τὸν ἀγαπητὸν εὐρέθη.¹ Theodoret *in ep. ad Philem.* 2 ἀγαπητὴν ὠνόμασε τοῦ Φιλήμονος τὴν ὁμόζυγα ὡς τῇ πίστει κοσμουμένην. θαυμάζετω δὲ μηδεὶς εἰ προσπταίουσιν νῦν τινες τῷ προσρήματι τούτῳ· οἱ γὰρ κακῶς κεχρημένοι τῷ πράγματι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τὴν λοιδορίαν προσήψαν, πάλαι δὲ σεμνὸν τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἀξίεπαινον ἦν. John Scholasticus *Notomocanon* tit. xxiv, quoting

¹ For completeness' sake it may be as well to add from this same tract a record of a synonym for ἀγαπητή, namely ἀγαπητρίς, de *Contubernaliibus* 2 ἡ τῶν ἀγαπητρίδων. λέγω δὴ, μανία. [In pseudo-Chrysostom *in Ps.* xcii 2 (ed. Bened. v 622 E) Εὐα . . . δρακονταίων συρισμάτων ἀγαπήτρια—another unknown form—the sense is not quite the same.]

Const. ix tit. 1 (*Novellae* vi cap. 6) τὰς [διακονίσσας] μὴ ἔχειν ἐν τάξει δῆθεν ἀδελφῶν ἢ συγγενῶν ἢ τῶν καλουμένων ἀγαπητῶν συνόντας.

VI The neuter ἀγαπητόν and adverb ἀγαπητῶς had already in classical Greek the technical signification 'it must be accepted, acquiesced in', 'one must be content'. So Josephus *Bell. Iud.* i 5, quoted in Eus. *H. E.* iii 6. 10 ἰκετεύοντων . . . μεταδοῦναι τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὧν κινδυνεύσαντες ἤνεγκαν· οὐδ' ὅτιοις μετέδωσαν, ἀγαπητόν δὲ ἦν τὸ μὴ καὶ προσαπολέσθαι σεσυλημένον. Origen in *Io.* x 43 (ii 22), the greater blessing is Blessed are your eyes for they see . . . ἀγαπητόν δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑποδεέστερον λαβεῖν μακαρισμὸν λέγοντα Μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες. Eus. *dem. ev.* viii 2 p. 388 τοῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων . . . εἰς τὸ ἐφικτὸν ἀρετῆς χωρήσασιν ἀγαπητόν ἁγίοις χρηματίζει . . . ἁγίων δὲ ἅγιος τίς ἂν κυρίως ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὀνομασθῇ; Chrysostom frequently (especially in an apodosis, joined to πλὴν ἀλλά, or with τέως): *Hom. in ep. ad Rom.* i (426 A) τοσαύτην ἀπονεύματε σπουδὴν τῇ τῶν λεγομένων ἀκροάσει ὅσην τῇ τῶν χρημάτων συλλογῇ· εἰ γὰρ καὶ αἰσχρὸν τοσαύτην ἀπαιτῆσαι παρ' ὑμῶν μόνην, πλὴν ἄλλ' ἀγαπητόν, ἂν τοσαύτην γοῦν διδῶτε: *Hom. in ep. i ad Cor.* xxxiii (307 E) δεῖ τοίνυν συγκαταβαίνειν . . . τὸ τέως ἀγαπητόν ἦν τὸ τὸν σταυρὸν τοὺς ἀκούοντας μὴ ἐπαισχυνθῆναι. For ἀγαπητῶς Basil (?) *Comm. in Isai.* 472 E ἐπὶ γυναικες [iv 1] . . . πνεύματα . . . ἅπερ οὐκ ἔχοντα ᾧ ἐπαναπαύσεται [ix 2], ἀγαπητῶς τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Κύριον ἀνθρώπου λαβόμενα ποιεῖ τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα (where the Benedictine text is wrong both in punctuation and translation). And so sometimes 'barely', 'scarcely', Basil *Hom. in Hexaemeron* iii 1 οὐ λέληθέ με ὅτι πολλοὶ τεχνῖται τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἐργασίας τὴν τροφὴν ἑαυτοῖς συμπορίζοντες, περιεστῆκασιν ἡμᾶς, οἱ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν συντέμνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀφέλκωνται.

(The following note has been kindly contributed on the subject of the above article.)

The collection and arrangement of the meanings of ἀγαπητός render it possible to conjecture something as to the affiliation or genealogy of the meanings discriminated in this article, possibly even to cast some light upon the motives which determined the choice of ἀγάπη to signify the peculiar relation of the Christian to his brethren in the new community. It is generally supposed that before its appropriation to such use the word or its cognates must have already conveyed some sense of a distinctive quality in the emotion so named, e. g. some special intensity or purity of the affection. But it has always been difficult or impossible to verify this line of descent, and the known facts as to pre-Christian use do not support it. As is pointed out, the word ἀγάπη itself does not occur in pre-Christian writers, and the discussion must turn upon the earlier meanings of ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγαπητός, &c. The pedigree of the meanings, which is suggested by the study of the history of these words, is somewhat surprising. The earliest meaning is that of contentment or acquiescence, and there is no evidence of a gradual introduction of either warmth or purity. Or rather, both do come in, but as it were silently and incidentally, and it is hard to say how late even in Christian usage the original sense may have

persisted or been prominent. In any case the dominant element in the meaning was for long not that of any peculiar quality or intensity in the feeling, but rather that of some uniqueness in the object towards which the feeling was directed or with which the relation subsisted. Hence, while $\delta \delta\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ may be translated 'the beloved', it rather denotes than connotes or 'means' that. What is prominent in the conception is the uniqueness of the relation to such a unique object, the quality of the feeling being consequential upon that. This implies the selection or singling out from many of the object, and what is emphasized is the *dilectio* rather than the *amor* or *caritas*. Thus the $\delta\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is rather 'the chosen' than 'the beloved' (= $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$), and this accords with sense IV in the article and is the most probable source of sense V. No doubt as time went on the feature of uniqueness in the object and the relation became obscured, while that of the character of the feeling came to the fore, but precisely when this change is to be dated it is hard to say. Perhaps our tendency is to date it too early, and Athanasius's words seem to indicate that the memory of it was a point of fine scholarship. Still it would probably be an error to suppose that in Christian use it had been almost entirely forgotten. The use of $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ as an equivalent does not help us much, for it too has somewhat of the same ambiguous or double sense: it sometimes means 'what one ought to be, or is, contented with'.

It may be worth while to add that the change is helped by the natural appropriateness of the word to the relation of the one wife to the one husband, and the growing elevation of the idea of true marriage under Christian influence. The problem of interest is the question why the word was selected to signify the new and higher relation of the members of the Christian community to one another, and the scantiness of the evidence leaves the answer largely to conjecture. But in any case it must have been suggested by something in non- or pre-Christian use, and it seems probable that the development was as above conjectured.

The posteriority of the simpler noun $\delta\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$ to its larger cognates has parallels in many languages, e.g. Latin *pugna* from *pugnare*, French *appel* from *appeler*, German *wach* from *wachen*. Clearly the formation has assisted the change of emphasis from the object or relation to the emotion, and from the ground of the affection to the affection itself. That change reacts upon the cognate verb and its verbal adjective.

Finally, occasion may be taken to ask whether the word $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ did not originally mean 'sole of, or in, its kind', the association with 'begetting' being later, and, as it were, incidental to special uses of it.

ISAAC OF NINEVEH AND THE WRITINGS OF MACARIUS OF EGYPT.

ASSEMANI noted¹ that quotations from a Macarius occurred in the works of Isaac of Nineveh. J. B. Chabot likewise observed² the general fact that citations did occur in Isaac from a saint of the name of Macarius. A more precise examination, however, is desirable for these passages, in view of the importance of Isaac of Nineveh as a witness to Macarius's writings.

Isaac's importance lies in his comparatively early date. He flourished towards the end of the seventh century.³ 'He is the author of several ascetic sermons preserved in the original Syriac, and in the Greek and Latin versions (Migne *P. G.* lxxxvi 1, 811-886), also in an unreliable Arabic version, and in an Ethiopic version derived from the same.'⁴

Isaac's quotations from Macarius, about to be examined, may be found in two books: (1) the edition of Isaac of Nineveh in Greek by Theotokes, 1770, Leipzig,⁵ and (2) the edition of Mar Isaacus Ninivita in Syriac entitled *De Perfectione Religiosa* by Paulus Bedjan, Paris, 1909.

A. First may be mentioned passages where Macarius is referred to in connexion with the other saints of the Egyptian desert, Ammoun, Pachomius, Arsenius, and Antonius. Incidents are related, which occur also in the *Apophthegmata* and in various accounts of holy men known as *Paradisi Patrum*. For instance:—

(i) Theotokes *op. cit.* *Logos* λς' ὁ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀμμούν ὁ ἅγιος, ὅτε ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τοῦ ἁγίου μεγάλου Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ἐπλανήθη τὴν ὁδόν, βλέπε τί εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· καὶ πάλιν, τί ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεός· καὶ μνήσθητι καὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μακαρίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. Can it be doubted that Isaac is here drawing from the *Book of Paradise* (Syriac Text, edited with an English translation by E. A. W. Budge 1904, vol. ii § 441 p. 741) where Abbâ Ammon is said to have lost his way going to Abbâ Antony, and after praying 'I beseech Thee, O Lord God, not to destroy that which thou hast created' found himself miraculously transferred to the cave of Abbâ Antony? Thereupon in immediate

¹ *Bibl. Or.* i, Romae, 1719, 448.

² *De S. Isaaci Ninivitae vita, scriptis et doctrina*, Lovanii, 1892, 71.

³ See Chabot's edition of Jésusdenah's *Livre de la chasteté* (Mélanges, &c., of the French school at Rome, 16, 1896).

⁴ Bardenhewer *Patrologie*, second edition, Engl. trans., p. 397.

⁵ The only copy of this book in England is in the British Museum.

proximity occur wonderful examples of St Macarius's humility, e.g. § 438 the alternate praising and vilifying the dead who remain equally impassive and imperturbable at both, and §§ 443, 444 his victory over the Devil armed with a scythe.

(ii) Bedjan *op. cit.* p. 310 l. 10; cf. *eund.* p. 563 l. 8; Theotokes *op. cit. Ep.* A p. 528. After relating the reluctance of Arsenius to admit even so important a visitor as the Bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus, Isaac continues: καὶ ἐμέμψατο αὐτὸν [i. e. τὸν Ἀρσένιον] ὁ ἀββᾶς Μακάριος μέμψιν πεπληρωμένην ἀγάπης λέγων, τί φεύγεις ἐξ ἡμῶν; καὶ ἀπελογίσατο ὁ γέρον . . . Οὐ δύναμαι εἶναι μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Unquestionably Isaac is drawing from the seventh of the *Απορρηθigmata* (Migne *P. G.* lxx col. 92) Εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάρκος [sic] τῷ ἀββᾷ Ἀρσενίῳ, Διὰ τί φεύγεις ἡμᾶς κτλ . . . καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

(iii) Theotokes *op. cit. Ep.* δ p. 350, Macarius aged ninety goes from Scetis to Alexandria to buy fresh bread for a sick brother. The source is incontrovertibly *The Book of Paradise* (ed. Budge 1904, vol. ii §§ 395, 396 pp. 721, 722).

B. Secondly, turning to quotations in Isaac of Nineveh from Macarius's written works, we may begin by quoting (i) Assemani's note¹ on Sermo 38 of the Arabic version of Macarius: '[Isaacus Ninivita] adducit testimonium . . . ex Epistola Macarii, cuius initium: Abbas Macarius scribit cunctis filiis suis carissimis'. Theotokes has this passage, to which Assemani referred, in *Logos* μθ':—

ἐστι δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκείνη αὕτη· Ὁ ἀββᾶς Μακάριος γράφει πᾶσι τοῖς τέκνοις τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς.²

Likewise it is found in Bedjan³ in the original Syriac:—

'Also from one of the letters of the blessed Macarius thou canst learn if thou wilt. And the letter is this: Father Macarius wrote to all his beloved children'.⁴ This beginning of a letter is none other than that of the letter preserved in Latin and printed in Migne *P. G.* t. xxxiv col. 405. In the Latin these introductory words have dropped out. In the Syriac version of the Letter, however, they are preserved.⁵

(ii) Isaac quotes a parallel which Macarius draws between the changing weather and the changing states of the soul:—Μακάριε . . . σὺ λέγεις τὸ ψῦχος, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν καύσων, καὶ ἵσως χάλαζα, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εὐδία⁶ κτλ. The original occurs in the Twelfth Syriac Letter⁷: 'For

¹ *Bibl. Or.* i, Romac, 1719, p. 453.

² See p. 301 line 4 of *Logos* μθ'.

³ See p. 500 line 16 of Bedjan's *Mar Isaacus Ninivita De Perfectione Religiosa*, Paris, 1909.

⁴ ܐܒܒܐ ܡܚܪܝܐ ܕܡܚܪܝܐ ܕܡܚܪܝܐ ܕܡܚܪܝܐ ܕܡܚܪܝܐ.

⁵ See the Syriac MSS of Macarius in the British Museum, Letter i *init.*

⁶ Theotokes *Logos* μθ', p. 296.

⁷ See the Syriac MSS already referred to.

there is cold and after a time heat, and perhaps hail, and a little after calm etc.'

(iii) Theotokes *Logos* μθ' p. 297 καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, τὸ μὴ ἀκηδιᾶν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι· καὶ οὕτω κατευθύνεται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡμῶν· ὁ δὲ θέλων ἐκ τούτων τραπῆναι ἢ κλῖναι, οὗτος τῶν λύκων μέρος ἐστίν. This is obviously a quotation from a Father. Although Isaac does not mention the Father's name, there is no difficulty in identifying it as Macarius's when we read in the Syriac 'In oppression let us not grieve, and in time of rest that comes from grace let us not take pride . . . ; thus we shall prepare our way, for he who turns aside from this is the portion of wolves'.¹

To sum up, therefore, the evidence, both positive and negative, furnished by Isaac of Nineveh : Isaac, in the latter part of the seventh century regarded the fourth-century saint of the Scetic Desert, Macarius, as the author of Letters, not of one Letter alone as Gennadius of Marseilles declared.² While, however, attributing to Macarius the letters still preserved in Syriac, and one in Latin, Isaac knew nothing of the *corpus* of Homilies as the work of Macarius.

G. L. MARRIOTT.

GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES ON MACARIUS OF EGYPT.

In his *De Viris Illustribus*³ Gennadius of Marseilles gives the following account of Macarius: 'Macarius monachus ille Aegyptius . . . unam tantum ad minores professionis suae scripsit epistolam, in qua docet, illum perfecte posse Deo servire, qui conditionem creationis suae cognoscens ad omnes semetipsum inclinaverit labores, et luctando atque Dei adversum omne quod in hac vita suave est auxilium implorando, ad naturalem perveniens puritatem, continentiam velut naturae debitum munus obtinuerit.'

Gennadius here speaks of Macarius as the author of a single letter, which he briefly describes as characterized by Pelagian or semi-Pelagian expressions.

¹ Macarius, Letter 12.

² Gennadius's error, if so it be, is probably due to a careless reading of the Greek ἐκ μᾶς ἐπιστολῆς which he interpreted as 'of only one letter', and thus produced 'unam tantum epistolam'.

³ Cap. 10.

Three questions arise. *First*, which of Macarius's letters had Gennadius before him, when he made his analysis? *Secondly*, the attribution to Macarius of Pelagian leanings (which have so far not been traced in his letters) have caused critics to inquire whether Gennadius did not 'father' on Macarius his own predilection for this form of heresy. *Thirdly*, How is it that Gennadius regards Macarius's literary production as limited to a single letter, seeing that fifty-seven Homilies and over ten letters of his have been preserved?

I. If we examine the eight Syriac letters, the first of which is identical with Macarius's Latin Letter,¹ we find only two with an address, viz. Letter I 'The abbot Macarius wrote to all his beloved children, exhorting them and greeting them', and Letter II 'Beloved children'. To either of these therefore Gennadius's words would apply 'ad minores professionis suae scripsit epistolam'. Further comparison, however, shews that it is the First and not the Second Letter, of which Gennadius furnishes us with a *précis*. Thus: (a) the clause *illum perfecte posse Deo servire* is adequately met by the Syriac of Letter I 'If a man . . . seeks God' or the Latin *poterit praecepta servare Spiritus Sancti*.

(b) *conditionem creationis suae cognoscens*. See Letter I *Si coeperit homo semetipsum agnoscere, cur creatus sit et factorem suum Deum*.

(c) *ad omnes semetipsum inclinaverit labores*. Compare Letter I *Quomodo . . . hunc laborem sufferre poteris?* (the word *declinaveris* occurring below); and see the whole list of ascetic labours which is given.

(d) *luctando atque Dei adversum omne quod in hac vita suave est auxilium implorando*. See Letter I *fortiter resistit*; 'God helps him (Syriac)'; *ut odio habeat omne refrigerium corporale*.

(e) *ad naturalem perveniens puritatem*. This remarkable attribution of the grace of purity to natural effort, characteristic of St Augustine's Pelagian opponents, is fully justified by the full form of the Letter as preserved in Syriac: 'But if the good God sees that his heart is not inclined to any of these things, as David said . . . "Thou hast proved my heart and hast visited me by night: thou hast searched me out and found no wickedness in me", then also God helps him and saves him.' The last eight words 'then also God helps him and saves him' have dropped out in the Latin. The syntax, however, requires them. They must be genuine.

It is therefore perfectly clear that Gennadius had before him the first of Macarius's letters, preserved in Latin and Syriac, but lost in Greek.

II. Our second question has been answered in replying to the first. The Pelagian leanings, or (more accurately) certain perfectly orthodox statements which lend themselves to Pelagian interpretation, which are really to be found in Macarius's first Letter have been obscured owing

¹ See Migne *P. G.* t. xxxiv. col. 406.

to the bad state in which the text of the Letter has been preserved in Latin. The Syriac is quite explicit. Purity is attained by natural efforts, and God's help comes on the top as a due reward. It is not until man's natural efforts after purity fail that God comes in with a gift of His own: 'In these contests . . . he deems this task a great hardship, and that purity cannot be kept. . . . But if his heart is afraid of these things, so that it faints . . . then God the Merciful sends him holy power . . . "an inheritance which is not corrupted".' Thus Gennadius was not by any means caricaturing Macarius when he said that according to him the grace of God was given as *naturae debitum munus*. Indeed, if we peruse the other Letters, we find the same expressions recurring which while being orthodox to the orthodox might be claimed as Pelagian by Pelagians. In Letter II (Syriac), for example, Holy Scripture is quoted or misquoted as making God say 'Him who chooses good will I help'.

III. As to Gennadius representing Macarius as the author of only one epistle, there is no difficulty in supposing that the reason why only one work of Macarius has been handed down to us from antiquity in a Latin translation—viz. the first Letter—is that this was the only one of his works translated into Latin. Gennadius being a Latin Father would presumably read Macarius in Latin. His statement about Macarius writing only one letter is in so far true that only one Latin letter of Macarius was in existence.

G. L. MARRIOTT.

OXFORD MANUSCRIPTS AT ANTWERP (MUSÉE PLANTIN).

ENGLISH scholars are familiar with manuscripts of continental origin on this side of the channel: only rarely do we come across manuscripts of British provenance in continental libraries. The useful catalogue of the manuscripts in the Musée Plantin at Antwerp, which Monsieur Seymour de Ricci published in 1910, reveals the fact that it is one of these libraries, and it is because the catalogue appears in a periodical which is not nearly as well known in this country as it ought to be,¹ that I have ventured to extract information from it bearing on this point.

MSS FORMERLY OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

- 52 St Gregory the Great *Liber Pastoralis* (saec. xii) ff. 72. One of Bp Gray's gifts.
- 57 (37) *Homiliae in Evangelia* (saec. xv). 'Liber collegii de Balliolo Oxoniae ex dono magistri Willelmi Appilby vicarii.'
- 77 (63) Richard of St Victor *Beniamin minor*; Hugo of Toledo *De Claustro Animae*; St Bernard *De Aedificio Materiali Claustri*, &c. (saec. xiv) ff. 117. One of Bp Gray's gifts.
- 106 (86) Gilbert of Tournai *Sermones* (saec. xiii). Gift of N. Saxton.
- 131 St Augustine *Sermones et Tractatus varii* (saec. xiv) ff. 336. Gift of Adam Populton, former fellow.

MSS FORMERLY OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

- 12 (71) Innocent IV *Apparatus Decretalium* (libri V) (saec. xiv) ff. 282.
- 26 (51) St Augustine *De Trinitate* (saec. xi-xii) ff. 181.
- 30 (exp. 74) *Ius canonicum* (saec. xv).
- 107 (56) St Bernard *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, De diligendo Deo, De xii Gradibus Humilitatis, Meditationes, De connubio Iacob*. Gift of Abp Warham.
- 144 (60) *Canones et Decreta Conciliorum* (saec. xiv) ff. 154. 'ex dono Pici An . . .' &c.

MSS CERTAINLY OR PROBABLY OF ENGLISH PROVENANCE.

- 15 (53) St Augustine *De Civitate Dei* books I-X (saec. xiv) ff. 149.
- 17 (54) *Commentarius in Proverbia Solomonis* (by Abp Stephen Langton?) (saec. xiv).

¹ The *Revue des bibliothèques* (Champion: Paris) for 1910, under title 'Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du Musée Plantin à Anvers'.

- 19 (34) St Gregory the Great *Moralia in Iob* books XXX-XXXV (saec. xii) ff. 126.
- 27 (35) St Augustine *De Institutione Vitae, De Fide et Spe et Caritate*; Richard of St Victor *In Psalmum 'Afferte Domino'*; St Bernard *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*; St Ambrose *De Ioseph Patriarcha, De Patriarchis, De Paenitentia, De Bono Mortis, De Fuga Saeculi* (saec. xiii) ff. 146.
- 28 *Scholastica theologia et varia opuscula S. Augustini et S. Anselmi* (saec. xiii) ff. 152.
- 41 (anc. 39) *Tractatus moralis de septem vitiis capitalibus; Tractatus de sacramentis*; St Bernard *Meditationes*; Hugo of St Victor *De Sacramentis Fidei* (saec. xiv) ff. 251. Bears the inscription: 'Scolaribus magistri Gill. de Onnhelmia in Oxonia.'
- 46 (exp. 69) Peter Lombard *Libri iv Sententiarum* (saec. xiii) ff. 220. Perhaps from Oxford.
- 47 (exp. 68) Aelfric *Versus ad exceptiones de Prisciano*, with numerous Anglo-Saxon marginal glosses (saec. x) ff. 49.
- 48 Guil. Brito *Opusculum difficultium vocabulorum Bibliae* (saec. xv) ff. 91.
- 49 (46) Gilbertus Anglicus *Compendium Medicinae* (saec. xv).
- 59 Guil. Brito *Opus super prologos Bibliae* (saec. xv) ff. 76.
- 67 (44) Petrus Comestor *Historia Scholastica* (saec. xi) ff. 199.
- 74 *Privilegia Hanseaticorum in regno Angliae* (1598). Arms of England on binding.
- 78 (45) *Sermones in Epistolas Sancti Pauli* (saec. xiii) ff. 272.¹
- 80 *Concilia provincialia Londini anno 1237, 1268, &c., cum constitutionibus variis in Anglia datis* (saec. xv) ff. 214.
- 83 (59) Raymundus de Pennaforte *Summa* (saec. xiv).
- 109 (64) John Felton *Sermones Dominicales per totum annum*; Iohannes de Ianua *Syllabus in Sanctam Scripturam* (saec. xv) ff. 208.
- 142 *Homiliae Dominicales* (1461). Written at Oxford by a certain Robert 'in aula B.M.V.' (i.e. St Mary's Hall).

A. SOUTER.

¹ From information kindly furnished to me in 1907 by the accomplished curator, Max Rooses, I was able to identify this MS as a copy of the work of Radulf of Laon (ob. 1131).

ST AUGUSTINE'S *RULE*.

THE Rev. Vincent McNabb, O.P., has put forward in the *JOURNAL* for April (pp. 242 ff) the interesting suggestion that this *Regula* was written for St Melania the Younger. He wisely remarks that 'in matters where evidence is so lacking, it would be wrong to claim certainty'—an observation which I shall make my own in offering a few comments upon his arguments.

(a) All we can gather from the letter itself (*Ep.* 211) about the occasion which called it forth amounts to very little. We learn from Section 4 that the sisters desired to change their *praeposita* ('non desiderabitis mutare praepositam'), and that in some way the *praepositus* was connected with this agitation ('si propter illum quaeritis novitatem et in eius invidia contra matrem uestram rebellastis'). Augustine does not 'suggest that rather than rid themselves of their *praeposita* or sister-superior, they should rid themselves of their new *praepositus*', as Mr McNabb says, but (note the emphatic position of 'propter illum' and 'in eius invidia') that *if* it be for some reason connected with him that they desire a change, they should, in that case, seek to have him, the newcomer, transferred. Thus we cannot be certain that the *praepositus* was actually responsible for the agitation; besides, the injunction in Part II of the Letter ('Praepositae tamquam matri oboediatur . . . multo magis presbytero') does not really conflict with this first Part, being merely a general statement that the authority of the ordained priest was to be considered above that of the lay sister-superior. But that fact is of less importance than this other, that it is extremely unlikely that Melania's nuns would rise against her and desire that she should be changed; we remember that the monks and nuns in the monasteries founded by Melania 'were drawn from her enfranchised slaves of yesterday' (Goyau, *Ste Melanie* p. 113, cited by Mr McNabb p. 245).

(b) Further, this *praeposita* had been in the monastery for a considerable time (*Ep.* 211, 4 'tam multos annos' and again 'tot annos'); with Mr McNabb we find it 'difficult to see how St Melania could be said to "have been many years" in their midst'. The *praeposita* had been first subordinate to Augustine's own sister ('sanctae praepositae sorori meae seruientem, placentem') and later had herself become *praeposita*. Mr McNabb does not make it clear whether he means the words 'sorori meae' to be taken of Melania i.e. 'my sister in the Lord',

or whether Melania is the *praeposita* against whom the nuns rebelled. The former is most unlikely, for on the testimony of Possidius, Augustine actually had a sister who was for long a *praeposita* (*Vita* 32 'Germana soror, quae uidua Deo seruiens multo tempore usque in diem obitus sui praeposita ancillarum Dei uixit'), and she is beyond doubt the *soror* mentioned in this letter; on the other hand it is very improbable that Melania should be the *praeposita* who succeeded Augustine's sister, not only for the reason given under (a), but because Melania's chronology cannot at all square with that of this mother-superior, for Melania was in Africa only between six and seven years (410-417).¹

(c) Again, the fact that Augustine wrote a letter instead of going in person to the monastery is no reason for removing it to Tagaste. We learn from Possidius that it was only for the gravest reasons that Augustine visited these places (*Vita* 33 'Feminarum . . . monasteria nonnisi urgentibus necessitatibus uisitabat'). Whatever the squabble may appear to us, it may not have been regarded as an 'urgens necessitas' by Augustine. Further, the tumult, he says, 'etsi oculos meos latuit, tamen aures meas uestris uocibus uerberauit' (*Ep.* 211, 1). Surely this is too strong an expression to be taken otherwise than literally. The nunnery must have been close to his own house: how could nuns at Tagaste have reasonably clamoured for his actual presence (*Ep.* 211, 1), in a town, too, outside his own diocese? Besides the omission of a superscription to the letter (see Goldbacher's edition) implies that the letter-carrier was simply told by word of mouth where he was to go with it,² and that his destination was near at hand. Augustine wrote, too, because his desire was that this *Regula* should be permanent, as we see from the closing paragraph (the Rule to be read to the community once a week). The location of the nunnery at Hippo is further rendered probable by the fact that Augustine seems to have been directly responsible for its foundation:

(1) he has the right of inflicting punishment ('quomodo . . . impunitum relinquerem (tumultum uestrum)')? (*Ep. cit.* 1.)

(2) Soleo gaudere de uobis et inter tanta scandala . . . consolari etc. (*Ep. cit.* 2); haec in uobis bona, haec Dei dona considerans . . . cor meum solet . . . adquiescere (*Ep. cit.* 3). These shew the joy of the founder at its increase and wellbeing. And more definite still:

(3) non enim sic plantauimus et rigauimus hortum dominicum in uobis ut spinas metamus istas ex uobis (*Ep. cit.* 3). Nothing could be stronger or more definite than this.

¹ These are the dates given by Cardinal Rampolla in his *S. Melania giuniore* . . . Rome, 1905; I take them from Lejay's review in the *Revue d'hist. et de litt. religieuses* xi (1906) p. 246.

² I owe this suggestion to Prof. Souter.

Besides, the whole tone of the letter is that of one in authority, the Principal as it were, whose influence and word counted for everything. Augustine could hardly have adopted the same tone, I imagine, if writing to a monastery which was not of his own foundation, nor in his own diocese; and while we know that Augustine with others influenced the Melanias in their endowment of certain monastic houses in Africa, there is no evidence that Melania's plan of building those at Tagaste owes anything to him.¹

(d) The great increase in the number of nuns in this house does not need to be attributed to Melania to be made 'more pointed' or 'more intelligible'. It is well known that in Augustine's time the number of monastic houses in Africa grew immensely, the names—a few out of many—of Uzala, Thabraca, Satafi, Tucca, Theveste, Ucchi Maius² sufficiently attesting the growth of the monastic spirit among women. It is surely probable at least that with the increase of monastic houses, there was a corresponding increase in the numbers in each house, and that the house in question was sufficiently famous from its connexion with Augustine not to require for its growth the prestige of Melania. The phrase 'sub illa multiplicatae' need not mean any more than that it was during this *praeposita*'s tenure of office that the increase took place, and not that it was due to her (cf. the accompanying phrases 'sub illa erudita' and 'sub illa uelata', where the 'sub' has the same meaning, namely 'during her rule'). Hence I would take the words 'nec erigant ceruicem quia sociantur eis ad quas foris accedere non audebant' to be a general warning against pride, such as is so frequently met with in monastic writings, and not to refer specially to the patrician Melania. There were in this monastery women of means as well as poor, but the rich women had hardly, as Mr McNabb says, 'made it possible for the poorer sisters to dwell in the monastery'. The words used by Augustine ('nec extollantur si communi uitae de suis facultatibus' aliquid contulerunt') shew only that those who could, contributed to the common fund. In attributing 'this state of riches and poverty to the nuns under the rule of Augustine's sister', we are merely surmising that there, as in all other monasteries, were found both rich and poor, and that the principle of having 'all things in common', derived of course from the earliest days of Christianity and continuing through all monastic history, was in use there too.

¹ See *Vita S. Melaniae Jun.* in *Anal. Bolland.* viii (1889) p. 35, sections 20 and 22, and other authorities.

² See list in Mesnage *Le Christianisme en Afrique, origines, etc.*, Alger-Paris, 1914, pp. 291 ff. and authorities there cited.

³ The language here, as Prof. Souter pointed out to me, is influenced by Luke viii 3 '... et aliae multae, quae ministrabant eis *de facultatibus suis*'.

With the disappearance from this letter of the phrase which was employed by the Benedictine editors, Tillemont, and others, to fix its date,¹ it becomes a hard task to assign it to any definite period of Augustine's life ; with the formerly accepted date of 423, there was still less reason to suppose that the *Regula* was written for St Melania, for she was then in Palestine ; yet it seems to me that the foregoing arguments hardly require the assistance of this dating to make it clear that the *Regula* was not written for her. And, I may add, it appears to me equally unlikely that the *praeposita* and the *praepositus* in question are the Felicitas and Rusticus of Letter 210, though this is suggested by the Benedictines ; a careful reading of both letters will shew, I think, that the circumstances of each, while to a considerable degree similar, are yet hardly identical.

J. H. BAXTER.

¹ The phrase is 'cum de Donatistis in unitate gaudeamus' (*Ep. cit.* 4). Goldbacher's edition shews that 'de Deo natis', instead of 'Donatistis', is the unanimous reading of the MSS. For a similar case of the disappearance of a proper name from a text, and a 'ghost'-personality from the *Dict. of Christian Biography*, see Prof. Souter's *Study of Ambrosiaster* p. 169.

THE EMENDATION OF PSALM LXXXV 9.

IN the last number of the JOURNAL p. 251, Mr Slotki proposes to change the masoretic reading **וְאֵלֵינוּ לְכָל־לֵב**, which is certainly difficult, into **וְאֵלֵינוּ לֵב**. The **לֵב** is attractive, but the same cannot be said for the rest. It is always dangerous to say that a phrase is not Hebrew, even after diligent study of the concordance, but I venture to think that **לֵב** cannot mean 'those that return with [all] their heart'. In fact **לֵב** with a genitive implies 'turning from (or to)' something. You can say **לֵב מִשֵּׁן** 'those who turn from sin', but **לֵב** would only mean 'those who turn away from a heart'. Secondly, no Hebrew writer surely would ever use such a series as **אֵלֵינוּ וְאֵלֵינוּ וְאֵלֵינוּ**. Thirdly, **אֵלֵינוּ**, which is called by the grammarians a poetical form, occurs only in Job (four times) among other peculiarities of language, but is never found in the Psalms. No doubt the proposed emendation was suggested by that quoted from Dr Briggs **וְאֵלֵינוּ לֵב**. We do get some odd Hebrew in modern commentaries, and this is some of the oddest. If the inspired writer must be corrected, perhaps we might read **לֵב מִשֵּׁן** (י). This has at least the merit of making sense and is not so very far from the masoretic text. If **לֵב** was written defectively, there is only a corruption of three letters: **נ** into **י**, **ר** into **ו**, and **ב** into **ל**. The meaning would then be 'and to him (them) that is (are) broken in heart. Selah'. Other emendations might be suggested, but perhaps after all it is sufficient to change **וְאֵלֵינוּ** into **וְלֵב**: 'He shall speak peace to his people . . . and they shall not turn again to foolishness'.

A. COWLEY.

ANTE-NICENE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SAYINGS ON DIVORCE.

DR ARENDZEN, on p. 223 of the last number of the JOURNAL, has misunderstood a sentence of mine, viz. that 'Tertullian and Origen take opposite views on the question whether the Lord simply reaffirmed Deut. xxiv 1, of which Tertullian adopts the stricter interpretation, Origen the laxer'. The antecedent to 'of which' is 'Deut. xxiv 1'—not the question of the Lord's reaffirmation of it. My meaning was that Tertullian's interpretation of Deut. xxiv 1 coincides with the stricter (Shammaite) Jewish view of that verse, viz. that it allowed divorce only for adultery; while Origen's interpretation agrees with the laxer, Hillelite, view, that other offences also were grounds for divorce. Tertullian, taking the stricter view of the verse, maintains that the Lord reaffirmed it; Origen, taking the laxer view of it, that the Lord went beyond it.

HAROLD SMITH.

REVIEWS

The Early History of the Church and the Ministry. By various writers.
 Edited by H. B. SWETE, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1918.)

THIS is a volume written with a purpose, one defined in its preface; and in that light it ought primarily to be judged. It arose out of an appeal by Canon J. M. Wilson for a fresh examination of the questions which 'gather round the origin and early developement of Episcopacy, and the nature and degree of the sanction which it possesses', particularly as a ground for refusing to recognize and treat 'non-Episcopal bodies as true branches of the one Catholic Church'. Is it right, asks Dr Wilson, to say Episcopal Christians 'alone have a divinely commissioned fellowship, and that others have their ministry and their sacraments from below, that is, from human appointment'? To this appeal the Primate suggested that a response should be made; and Dr Swete organized a group of Anglican essayists 'to collect and state in as precise a form as possible the latest results of scholarly research bearing on the subject'. But no complete answer to Canon Wilson's question, as cited in Dr Swete's preface, was undertaken. 'This volume ~~deals~~ only with a part, namely, the questions relating to Church ~~the~~ policy on which light is thrown by the history of the first ~~two~~ four centuries'. Nor even within this field are all the relevant ~~questions~~ dealt with, especially as regards the ideas and principles ~~which~~ development described. Yet these are the very things ~~which~~ most for the practical deductions to be drawn to-day ~~and~~ the aim of Dr Wilson's appeal.

There is, too, a wide difference between some of the ~~statements~~ to adequacy to the task in hand. Canon Mason ~~on~~ the mental subject of 'Conceptions of the Church ~~and~~ appointing. It is in fact useless for the purpose ~~of~~ positively misleading as tending to confuse the ~~reader~~ what is not denied by Nonconformist ~~writers~~. It ~~deals~~ treats superficially the points that count ~~and~~ on every page the reader is forced to ~~struggle~~ exposition of principles, so far as it ~~can~~ *ad rem*. Take the following statement: 'The Church is ~~not~~ divine, and not a human, institution ~~and~~ (the first Christians) could not ~~be~~ doubted by 'non-Episcopal bodies' ~~if~~ agreed among scholars to be ~~the~~ as the spiritual Israel of God, ~~the~~

in succession to that of the Old Covenant or Law. Further he does not grasp the full bearing of his own observation that 'as the Church became predominantly a Gentile Church, the force of this conception grew more faint. Probably after the middle of the second century few of those who read the word *Ecclesia* were aware of its early religious history' (p. 9). Had he followed up the line of thought suggested by this contrast, he would have got nearer the root of the whole matter, namely the predominance of Hebraic conceptions, both of Church and Ministry, in 'primitive' Christianity properly understood—say before the age of the Greek Apologists—and the waning of these, along with the waxing of Greek or Roman conceptions, perceptible in the early 'Catholicism' of Irenaeus and already marked in that of Cyprian.

Again what need to prove that there was 'no difference made in ancient times between an "invisible" and a "visible" Church?' It has no bearing on the problem of reunion between bodies claiming equally to be branches of the visible Church. But having undertaken in this connexion to examine the teaching of 2 Clement, Hermas, and Clement of Alexandria on the pre-existent or heavenly Church as distinct from the Church on earth, Dr Mason might have executed his task more accurately,¹ especially in the case of Clem. Alex., who seems to have in view a heavenly or angelic prototype of the later earthly or human society of spiritual beings.

It is only with his proposition, 'The Church was the visible *organization* which bears that name', that Dr Mason begins to get to grips with his real subject. Unfortunately, however, it is just here that he most exhibits lack of exact thought and discrimination touching the very points where these are most necessary for the end in view. Among such points are the following. There is the distinction between Catholic unity as a spiritual fact, like that of Catholic Judaism, taking effect spontaneously and without ministerial and hierarchical organization specially meant for the purpose—a unity nowhere more evident than in the prayers of the *Didache* and in Abercius's epitaph, neither of which implies any but local organization—and unity in the organized, quasi-legal sense characteristic of fourth-century 'Catholicism', with its episcopal synods armed with virtually coercive authority over local 'churches', each of them 'representing the entire Divine Society',

¹ Dr Mason fails to bring out the undue hypostatizing tendency implied in 2 Clement. Lightfoot's remark, which he cites, that 'this doctrine of an eternal Church seems to be a development of the Apostolic teaching which insists on the foreordained purpose of God as having elected a body of men to serve Him from all eternity', affords a good illustration of the way in which Biblical ideas underwent unconscious change in their conceptual form as the mental environment altered, as noted above.

the Church. Then there is the distinction overlooked in the statement that 'at no period can any sign be discerned that the churches were conceived as independent and self-contained entities' (p. 22). In a spiritual or religious sense, as descriptive of the attitude of each particular church to its fellows, as parts of the One Church indwelt by the same Spirit, this would be asserted by Congregationalists no less than by Ultramontanes. But Dr Mason seems to mean far more than this, and to assert, in Dr Swete's words, that there was 'no self-governing power in the local congregation apart from the authority of the whole Body of Christ'. Even Cyprian asserted the opposite as regards matters not touching the essentials of faith. It is a pity, then, that our essayist does not distinguish stages in the process by which local church autonomy was gradually limited and overborne by the coercive authority of the corporate consciousness, as defined by the collective episcopate.

In so saying, we have hinted at a third needful distinction, that between conceptions of the Church and the Ministry marking off several stages in early Christianity from each other. As Dr C. H. Turner shews so clearly in the case of the notion of Apostolical Succession, Catholicism in the age of Irenaeus had one conception of the Episcopate as guarantee of the Church's unity, viz. that of the public guardian of its central tradition as to essential Christian belief, whereas only a little later, beginning from the age of Cyprian, it added another conception of a different order. Yet it is this latter, even the germ of which cannot be traced earlier than Hippolytus, which as an element in the 'Catholic' notion of the Episcopate, and its relation to ministerial orders and to Church unity, alone stands to-day as an insuperable barrier to reunion between so-called Episcopal and non-Episcopal bodies of Christians. For with Irenaeus's type of Episcopate, viz. the pastorate of a single chief presbyter, first among his peers of the presbyterial *ordo* (cf. Harvey's ed. V xl 2, xli 1 *fin.*), and as such having the chief 'teaching position' (*locum magisterii*) in each church, as the Apostles once had it in the Church generally (*ib.* III iii 1), non-Episcopal Christians have no difficulty. It is only when it is assumed further that such bishops have also a quasi-apostolic 'understanding' of the truths to which they are to witness, and a special sacramental power, due in both cases to Episcopal ordination as continuous with Apostolic communication of Grace by laying on of hands—it is only then that what is styled 'the historic episcopate' becomes

¹ As Dr Mason seems hesitatingly to suggest (p. 47), taking Irenaeus's *charisma veritatis certum* in a subjective sense alien to his general usage in relation to the *veritas* possessed by authorized heads of churches, and even alien to the context in which that phrase occurs (V xl 2).

a hindrance to union, as including elements due to historic changes that go deeper than the needs of organized unity.

In fact Dr Mason seems not to reckon in practice at all with the varying stages through which the functions and the idea of the Episcopate passed during the first four centuries. It is such vagueness of conception,¹ characteristic of the essay throughout, that enables him to declare, 'however far back the history is traced, no date can be assigned, however roughly, for the appearance of Catholicism in the Church'. But in fact the connotation of 'bishop' as an element in the Church's 'Catholicity' underwent momentous changes between Irenaeus and Cyprian. Of one change Lightfoot and many Anglican scholars are very conscious, viz. the new 'sacerdotal' and 'hierarchic' significance given to the bishop as such, within the sphere of his own local church—whether the people or the rest of the ministry. Another is that in the conception of the Apostolic Succession traced by Dr Turner to the same epoch. But in addition to these, Cyprian's type of Catholic thought, as a later essay shews, exhibits serious change also in the conception of 'bishops' in relation to the unity of the Church universal, as if this were dependent on their collective or corporate being. It is such changes in the 'Catholic' Episcopate, together with their relation to the grace of the Sacraments, as conditioned by Episcopal ordination (itself now regarded as a sacrament), which determine the whole attitude of non-Episcopal Christians to the Anglican 'historic Episcopate', as claiming identity with the 'Catholic' Episcopate of the fourth and fifth centuries.

It has been needful to deal thus fully with this essay simply because its subject is so fundamental, and because its failure, one must submit, to fulfil adequately the function assigned to it, detracts so much from the value of the volume. But there follow contributions to parts of the whole subject which it is a pleasure to signalize as really advancing knowledge and in a measure supplying what Canon Wilson asked for. The first of these specific discussions is that on the Christian Ministry in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic periods, by the Dean of Wells. Its chief significance is that its author can report that, broadly speaking, Lightfoot's findings of half a century ago still hold the field. These were mostly against the negative or exclusive answers to Canon Wilson's questions as to whether 'non-Episcopal bodies' could be recognized by

¹ At times there are glimpses of more historical insight, as when he writes (pp. 54 f): 'It is very possible that, as time went on, more stress was laid than at the outset upon the contents of the faith and less, in proportion, upon the believing habit of soul. For the purposes of unity and fellowship it was easier to reckon by notes which were comparatively external.' But he does not ask whether and how far a similar change in practice and thought as regards collective organization as essential to the Church's religious unity, did not accompany the change in question.

Anglicans 'as true branches of the one Catholic Church', so far as the validity of their ministry, and so of their sacraments, is concerned. But while the Dean associates himself with Lightfoot's findings, he devotes most of his energy to correcting an exaggerated theory of the antithesis between 'charismatic' and official or localized ministries in primitive Christendom. His discussion is in terms of Harnack's statement of the case, which is marked by the Teutonic 'vigour and rigour' of which Matthew Arnold complained. This, for the purpose of these essays at least, seems a pity, seeing that the use made by English scholarship of the antithesis is, generally speaking, hardly open to the criticism as here made. Further, he seems himself by reaction to transgress the 'just mean' in suggesting that there is no real force in the antithesis, as also by his belittling of the *Didache* as a witness to primitive conditions, at least in Syria (including Palestine). Of course this document is an immense rock of offence to those who start from the other end of the historical developement, the manifestly 'Catholic' order of things, and try to read it back into the beginnings. But that was not Lightfoot's method; neither was his estimate of the *Didache* theirs, nor yet the Dean's own of more recent years. Lightfoot, in his latest published judgement,¹ assigns it to the period A.D. 80-110, preferably A.D. 80-90, and describes the effect of its witness on his own theory of primitive ministry as follows. It 'seems to me in almost every respect to confirm the view which I have taken, and any alterations which I might have to make would be chiefly in the way of elucidation and supplement'. Thus 'there is no trace of the Episcopal office as distinct from the presbyteral (a phenomenon which points to the first rather than the second century). Moreover, the picture which it presents of the temporary and the permanent ministry working side by side—the latter encroaching upon the former—is the same which I have set forth as characteristic of the later decades of the Apostolic age . . . The temporary ministry is represented in the *Didache* by "Apostles" and "prophets"; the permanent by "bishops" and "deacons". But we are told that the latter "likewise minister the ministration of the prophets and teachers". This is an illustration of what I have said as to the gradual transference² of the function of teaching from the missionary preachers to the local officers of the congregations'.

Here we have the main features of the situation reflected in the *Didache*; and the account agrees in essentials with Harnack's view,

¹ 'Additional Note on the Christian Ministry,' at the end of his *Philippians*, 1890.

² Lightfoot does not view this as having taken place by any formal devolution from the unordained missionary or prophetic ministry to the ordained local ministry, but simply as a fact in the Church's life, where alone spiritual continuity in the matter is to be sought.

stated by the Dean as follows : ' A teaching ministry—Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers—was on the point of passing from its ancient and supreme authority, and bequeathing its honours and influence to the administrative class of Bishops and Deacons.' It is true that Lightfoot, writing in 1868, connected together 'teachers, helps, governments' (though 'powers, gifts of healings' intervene) in the list of 1 Cor. xii, on the strength of the seeming analogy of 'pastors and teachers' in the later list in Eph. iv. But 'teachers', as the truer analogy of Acts xiii 1 already suggested, and as the *Didache* and *Hermas*¹ fully bear out, go closely with 'apostles, prophets', who immediately precede them in 1 Cor. xii, as primarily ministers of 'the Word of God' rather than of administrative oversight, according to the contrast in Acts vi 2. Of course the distinction was not absolute; and the gifts qualifying for such practical ministries, like all functions in the Body of Christ, were also gifts of the Spirit. But the fact remains that inspiration with 'the Word' was essential to the 'Teachers' in question, as well as to Prophets (and Apostles), although in a less immediate and spontaneous form, recognizable in a less rapt and more reflective style of 'teaching'. The form of the Teacher's gift in the Word not being that *distinctive* of the prophetic type² of *charisma*, to which it yet belonged generically, the term 'teacher' naturally came to be used in two senses, a special and a general one. In this latter sense it might attach to men whose office was primarily practical or administrative, particularly 'pastors', otherwise called 'elders' or 'bishops', in order to describe their functions of instructional or hortatory teaching in the contents of the common tradition, as distinct from fresh vision or revelation. These functions, however, were *incidental* to the full performance of their ministry rather than of its essence; witness 1 Tim. v 17, 'elders who rule . . . , especially those who labour in (the) Word and instruction' (ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ). Such were not as a class 'gifted' in 'the Word', and so did not in general esteem rank as of the prophetic type, and so as 'charismatic'—according to the modern use of the term which Dr Robinson deprecates and which may well be dropped, if the truth it suggests is preserved; for 'the Word' in *manifestly inspired* form was, in connexion with the ministry, the 'charisma' *par excellence* (cf. 1 Cor. xiv 1).

¹ Sim. ix 15. 4; 16. 5; 25. 2 οἱ δὲ μ' ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ: οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ: and ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ οἱ διδάξαντες σεμνῶς καὶ ἀγνῶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου . . . καθὼς καὶ παρέλαβον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

² Compare the description of Polycarp as διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς, in his Martyrium. The same principle seems to apply to 'evangelists', so explaining their place just after 'prophets' in Eph. iv, where they replace the 'teachers' of 1 Cor. xii.

Where such a *charism* of the Spirit was manifest no formal Church Commission¹ by appointment and ordination was needed. As directly authenticated by his 'charism', a 'Teacher', though in a lesser degree than a 'Prophet', was invested both locally and at large with an authority in the things of 'the Word' higher than that of the ordinary ministries for everyday practical guidance and help. With these latter the nature and conditions of their authority, a strictly local one, were different. It was entrusted to them by formal commission of the Church, as represented by the local church, acting in the first instance, in most cases at least, on the initiation and with the co-operation of its Apostolic founder (in the wider sense of 'Apostle'), but in his absence, either through circumstances or after his death, acting through its own local chief ministers on a method of orderly appointment, after popular election on the basis of personal qualifications for the office in question. But no early claim is made that such Church commission or ordination was more than a matter of order, and as such conformable to a divine principle in nature and history, both civil and religious. There is no suggestion, though it would have greatly added to the argument in the Roman Clement's letter, that such a humanly conditioned or ecclesiastical appointment conveyed any sacramental grace of orders. It simply conferred *representative* or corporate validity to the ministry of the divine gift recognized by the choice of the Spirit-bearing Church as present in its bearer. Accordingly, though 'charismatic' may not be a description of this contrast free from ambiguity, yet the facts in the main support Harnack rather than the Dean of Wells, save in so far as the former may attribute to the 'prophetic' type of ministry pre-eminence in the pastoral function of 'ruling', as well as in 'teaching' and offering Eucharistic prayer. Harnack's chief error is the common one of drawing too hard and fast lines, an error into which, as it seems, his critic himself falls in his effort to discredit the *Didache's* representation as to a special class of inspired Teachers.

But, after all, granting Dr Robinson's negative contribution to 'terminological exactitude' to be a useful *caveat*, his essay leaves untouched the main features of 'the Primitive Ministry' which tell against the later 'Catholic' reading of it. These were already established by Lightfoot, whom he claims to confirm. The crucial point is that 'the episcopate was formed not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyteral by elevation'. When, further, the

¹ The same principle survived into the third century, in the ancient Church Order cited in Dr Frere's essay, in the case of confessors who ranked *ipso facto* as Spirit-qualified for the 'presbyterate'; whereas the specifically representative *office* of a 'bishop', in addition to his presbyteral rank (*ordo*), could be conferred on a confessor only by formal appointment by the Church, including ordination to that office.

single 'bishop who exercised a permanent supervision over an individual congregation' actually emerged, during the last decade or so of the first century, in Asia, his specially representative authority was not dependent on any commission conferred through certain persons, outside or within each congregation, acting with quasi-apostolic authority derived from the Apostles themselves by devolution. Of any 'transmission of ministerial authority' in this sense there is no really early trace. Nor is there, on Lightfoot's theory, any trace of super-congregational functions in the primitive Episcopate, so as to be the cement, as Cyprian came to claim, of the Church as a unified organization. It is, then, a strange *non sequitur* from Lightfoot's principles when Dr Robinson ends by saying 'We need now, *as much as the sub-apostolic age*, a ministry which can hold the whole Church together'. For no ministry with that function then existed. The local bishop, as the official head of his own church, was in practice the primary organ of fellowship within 'the Brotherhood' as a whole; but he had no authority outside his own church. To say, as he does in his closing sentence, that 'at least for the purposes of unity, the episcopate is the successor of the apostolate' is to use 'the episcopate' in a different sense from the primitive one with which his essay deals. It was long ere even regular conferences of adjacent bishops for counsel became common, and ere organization between local churches became as regularized as it is even in modern Congregationalism, let alone Presbyterianism or Methodism. Non-Episcopal scholars agree with the Dean that 'the Christian Ministry was gradually evolved, in response to fresh needs which came with new conditions'; and they have no desire to argue that when the evolution had got a given distance all the Church's legitimate needs in the way of organization were once for all met. Thus while insisting that the early type of Episcopate which arose in the sub-Apostolic age, and lasted without radical change till the third century, cannot be an invalid type of Church organization to-day, they are ready to accept certain later forms of inter- and super-congregational organization, as developements in the Episcopate of value in the interests of corporate unity. Only it is 'terminological inexactitude' to describe the super-Episcopate of fourth-century provincial bishops (metropolitans), or of mediaeval and modern diocesan bishops, as part of 'the Historic Threefold Ministry' of bishop, presbyters, deacons, whose authority was originally and properly confined to their own local church. That super-Episcopate is really a fourth type of ministry, whose special function it was to organize and unify the life of the Church at large.

Of the essays generally the most important is that which comes next in order, Dr C. H. Turner's elucidation of ancient conceptions touching Apostolic Succession in the Episcopate, and of the problem of non-

Catholic orders as related thereto. It illustrates, and largely reveals the secret of, the change from the Episcopate in the 'primitive' sense to its 'Catholic' connotation, the very existence of which Dr Mason is at pains to deny. The first section, on 'the original conception' of Apostolical Succession, brings out the changes of emphasis and even of meaning through which the conception passed, marked by the names of Clement of Rome, Hegesippus and Irenaeus, Hippolytus and Cyprian, in particular. The notes of these three stages are apostolic order, doctrine, and priesthood, as represented by the Episcopate (in Clement of Rome still that of a college of presbyters) in succession to the Apostles. Further the manner in which those in the 'Succession' from the Apostles, by virtue of their legitimate headship of churches of apostolic foundation, and of their due ordination to their office or *cathedra*, were conceived as related to the Apostles by such succession, varied a good deal. Down to Tertullian's day 'bishops have their place in the Apostolic Succession only in connexion with the churches over which they preside. Sacerdotal language, strictly speaking, is entirely absent' (p. 129). Yet 'so far back as "succession" was emphasized at all', a second factor, besides lawful election by a particular church to its vacant *cathedra*, was in Dr Turner's opinion already thought to be involved, viz. 'to be lawfully entrusted with the *charisma* of the Episcopate by the ministry [of those already recognized as possessing it]'. It is doubtful, as shewn above, whether Irenaeus has any such idea in referring to the *charisma veritatis certum* as passed on from bishop to bishop in succession. Further our essayist says that 'when the neighbouring bishops met to bestow on the bishop-elect the laying on of their hands, they in fact ratified with the sanction of the Church at large the choice of the individual community'. But no evidence of such intervention of neighbouring bishops¹ exists prior to the third century. So that it is precarious to say that 'from the first', or even before Irenaeus's day, 'any claim to be a bishop in the successions from the Apostles' implied these twin ideas, and that 'without this *charisma* of his ordination he and his community had nothing to stand upon but their own basis'.

So far, however, there is no suggestion that 'succession from the Apostles' meant that bishops were 'themselves "successors of" the Apostles', 'sharers in the same grace of high-priesthood and teaching', as Hippolytus puts it. This fresh element in the conception is first found in a work of his from about A.D. 220, but becomes marked in Cyprian and gradually possesses itself of the Catholic mind generally. It means that 'the Church takes the place of the churches, so that the

¹ The *Ecclesiastical Canons* shews that the original nature and purpose of the intervention of 'three chosen men', from a sister church, were possibly quite different from what is here implied.

bishop is rather *a* bishop of the Church at large than *the* bishop of his own community . . . There is of course no necessary antagonism between these two conceptions, which when held in equipoise complement and correct one another. But the shifting of the emphasis on to one side of the truth can be felt at work from the beginning of the third century; and it marks the first stage of a long and far-reaching developement, in the course of which an integral element of the doctrine in its original form, namely the relation of the bishop to his own people . . . dwindled and disappeared' (pp. 129, 131 f).

Along with this new doctrine of Apostolic Succession went the corollary that it was confined to the One Catholic Church and was even forfeited by lapse into heresy or schism. Its *charisma*, that is, like the grace of any other sacrament—for such it was now conceived to be—existed only in the one Spirit-bearing Body of Christ as an organization. This conception of the nullity of all sacraments save 'in the Church', a point common to Cyprian and Novatian, like Hippolytus before them—though the three applied it very differently—is closely bound up henceforth with the doctrine of the validity of orders as related to Apostolical Succession, as Dr Turner shews in his striking contrast between Cyprian's and Augustine's doctrines on the point. This forms the most original part of his whole important contribution. Canon Wilson had desiderated light on the grounds of 'the separation' which 'grew up between the conditions for what is called a valid Baptism and those for a valid Eucharist, and the limitation of the latter to men episcopally ordained'. And it is to be feared that he will still be left waiting for a satisfactory, that is a consistent, answer to that great *crux* of 'Catholic' theory as to sacramental grace outside the visible Church, on the presupposition that it is the exclusive sphere of the Spirit's supernatural activity—unless one can accept Cyprian's own answer, which 'Catholicism' at large has rejected.

As regards the contrast between the Cyprianic type of Catholicism and the Augustinian, while Cyprian held all sacraments, including Apostolic Orders (as most Catholics after his day held all *save* baptism), outside the one Church to be null or worse, Augustine held in a sense the exact contrary. That is, he admitted the *validity* of *all* sacraments even outside the Church, if duly administered in form and substance, since their reality depends on Christ's institution and power, and not on the human agent. On the other hand their *efficacy* was conditional on the essential Grace of Love, which could not normally exist or be counted on outside the Church, among schismatics or heretics. Hence on the 'reconciliation' to the Church of a minister who had received orders in due form outside it, the corresponding grace hitherto potential became actual. This doctrine is really revolutionary of 'Catholic'

principle, in that it makes the subjective state of the recipients of sacraments, the charity of unity, as determined by the invisible action of the Spirit of Love in the heart, decisive for sacramental efficacy. No doubt he made that outward reconciliation the decisive thing for the Church's recognition of such efficacy in any case: but his spiritual principle itself could not be thus limited before God where divine love coexisted, as it might, with conscientious scruple against formal adhesion to one corporate body claiming to be 'the Church' rather than another. In fact, his compromise between the principles involved—the traditional Catholic one, which emphasized the external *opus operatum* aspect of sacraments, and his own return to more primitive principles, which made little of the human agent and laid stress on the spiritual state of the recipient, his spirit of unity and not of schism—was unsatisfactory. It was artificial in the merely formal value it gave to the objective rite, as correct in form, matter, and general intention; and it was 'something like a *reductio ad absurdum*' of the whole Catholic sacramental system, since it did not allow him with consistency to deny that a non-Christian could validly baptize. Thus it was so alien to primitive Christianity as to refute its own premisses: and yet, framed as it was to meet the new and patent facts of two almost equal bodies of African Christians claiming to be 'the Church', with the same creeds and the same Apostolic Orders, it seemed the only one which could save Catholic sacramental theory from a practical refutation. The *impasse* was indeed serious; and it is not clear how an issue from it can be found on any principles which would warrant denial of validity to orthodox non-Episcopal sacraments and ministries. Thus the general effect of Dr Turner's contribution is constructively eirenic in tendency.

Archbishop Bernard's study of 'The Cyprianic Doctrine of the Ministry' is strictly expository, and brings out clearly that 'Catholic' theory was far from one and the same from the first. Cyprian had the merit of putting things with a remorseless consistency which helps us to bring loose notions of 'Catholicism' to book. To him 'the bishops of the Catholic Church are a *collegium* which is to the whole Church what the individual bishop is to his own community' (Dr Swete's summary). This is new doctrine. Again, 'the unity of the Church is exhibited by the unity of the collective episcopate' (p. 253), a sort of mystic entity which manifests itself in synodal concord. And yet Cyprian was driven, in his fidelity to what he believed to be the true Catholic tradition and doctrine, to furnish a practical refutation of his theory of unity in the Episcopate by leading a division of judgement on the question of baptism 'outside the Church'—really a dogmatic issue, as involving the conditions of Sacramental Grace. Hence one may justly say that Cyprian was in practice the *enfant terrible* of the very 'Catholicism'

which he did so much to define in a new sense, in his doctrine of the Collective Episcopate as the 'cement' of the Church's unity, and whose later dualism in doctrine as between baptism and the Eucharist 'outside the Church', in point of the conferment of grace, he did so much to set in glaring relief. Thus in effect, if he 'shews that to be Catholic is not necessarily to be Roman', he shews also that 'Catholic' theory as to unity and the conditions of Sacramental Grace is a relative thing, not *quod semper, ubique, ab omnibus creditum est*.

Canon Wilson asked for some review of 'the early conceptions of ordination and consecration in the Church; to shew whether they did not lay more stress on the pastoral and teaching work of the ministry, and on the continuity of doctrine, and less on its sacramental functions and powers, than we now do'. The essay which takes up this question most explicitly is that on 'Early forms of Ordination' by Dr Frere. He deals first with the New Testament evidence; then with the earliest extant forms of ordination service, the 'Hippolytean' Church Order and the Sacramentary of Serapion; and then, in the light of these, returns to some collateral evidence of a less formal kind, before summing up the conception of ordination which lies behind the two services already cited. These are marked, he says, by 'the strong assertion of the episcopate as the sole authority that is empowered to continue the tradition' of a ministry continuous with that of the Apostles. This seems to go a good deal beyond the evidence even of the 'Hippolytean' Church Order. Among his functions, when truly chosen of God—through the Christian people's choice¹—is 'to bestow orders according to God's injunction (διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα σου). Even this, taken as it stands (yet see below), hardly warrants the above statement. But in any case, as Dr Frere adds, 'this does not necessarily mean that the imposition of hands is itself the exclusive channel of the spiritual grace' of the ministry. 'The view of the *charismata* which is taken all through, is that God gives as He pleases: and the corporate consciousness of the Church recognizes those gifts whenever it sees them. It recognizes the initial grace by which a man turns from heathenism. . . . It recognizes in others the antecedent grace of vocation to the ministry . . . ; and then it gives him the consequent grace of orders, and his position in the ministry, praying for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon him, as the elect of God, in order that he may have the needful fullness of spiritual gift.'

Apart from the dubious use of 'grace of orders' as 'given' by the Church—an idea alien to the wording of this ordination prayer—this

¹ 'The popular election was not quite what we understand by the term: the people acted as the Spirit-bearing body, on behalf of God [subject to His fuller knowledge as καρδιογνώστης], and with a deep sense of responsibility' (p. 299).

conception of appointment and ordination to the ministry is one to which Protestants, whether Conformist or Nonconformist, have no serious reason to demur. But as regards the opening generalization touching exclusive episcopal powers, it is very doubtful if the conception of the Episcopate is the same in the 'Hippolytean' Church Order and Serapion's Sacramentary. Had Dr Frere quoted the prayer in the latter over a bishop, it would have been evident that neither powers of ordination nor specific sacerdotal functions are there attributed to bishops, but that God Himself is spoken of as 'ordaining holy bishops'. It is there, and not on any human agent, that the emphasis lies. Taken as it stands in Bishop Serapion's Prayer-book of c. A.D. 350, this prayer not only adds 'little or nothing' to the ideas of the other Church Order, but takes away much from its notion of the Episcopate, and may well suggest doubt as to the typical character assigned to it in Dr Frere's essay. Much in its emphasis, and particularly the exclusive claims made for the office of chief pastor, seems in fact local rather than typical at the date to which it belongs. These specific features, 'authority to forgive sins, to give orders,'¹ to loose every bond according to the authority given to the Apostles', are there connected with possession of 'the high-priestly spirit', which marks off the bishop as 'pastor' and 'high-priest' to God on behalf of his flock. This prayer, as it stands, *prima facie* represents some circle of Syrian Christianity, seeing that it occurs in a Church Order which as a whole has certainly received accretions and modifications to its Hippolytean basis in some such region.² The degree to which its ordination prayers for bishop, presbyter, and deacon have undergone change of this sort is still a moot point, though Dr Frere now accepts them as representing Rome in Hippolytus's day, and not only Syria in the latter part of the third century or even later. Hence the other alternative must still be left open and reckoned with, viz. that the most distinctive features of this Church Order's conception of a bishop and his powers are connected with the developement of hierarchical ideas in certain quarters during the third century which appears clearly in the doctrine of 'Apostolic Succession', as traced by Dr Turner.

The last essay, by Dr Brightman, on 'Terms of Communion and the Ministration of the Sacraments in early times', is a highly detailed study, marked by all its author's well-known learning and accuracy. To it

¹ Omitted not only in the Egyptian *Canons of Hippolytus* but also in the *Testament of the Lord*, the latter of which represents some region on the borders of N. Syria and Asia Minor as late as c. 400: so that there also this feature of the Episcopate was not emphasized.

² This is the view of Dr Frere himself not only as regards its latter part, but also as to the *Anaphora* which is closely connected with the ordination section for a bishop.

students will turn with profit again and again as to a dictionary of ecclesiastical usages. But it adds little, if anything, to the principles bearing on the questions which occasioned this volume. And so we pass on to sum up the effect of the whole as a contribution to the problems posed in a practical spirit by Canon Wilson.

Non-Episcopal Christians, whose status is the matter in question, should in my judgement welcome these essays, because, though one or two tend rather to 'darken counsel with words', others, and those the most important and fresh contributions, tend to minimize, if not to remove, hindrances in the way of Catholics who desire to go as far as history will allow them towards meeting non-Episcopal brethren who long for restored communion. On the other hand, while these latter gratefully welcome such features of the exposition in this volume as render modern Episcopacy more capable of becoming the chief element in a new ecclesiastical synthesis, they must make clear their claim already to have part and lot in the Episcopate of history to a far larger degree than these essays seem to recognize. Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists all hold that early Church history shews them to possess 'the threefold ministry' of the Ignatian type, that relative to the most natural and ultimate unit of local Church fellowship, the particular church; and that the Episcopate remained essentially on this basis until the third or fourth century, with the addition of a growing Presbyterian or synodal element, in which voting power, and then even attendance, was more and more limited to 'bishops' or pastoral elders. In modern Christendom both these forms of Episcopate—the Congregational and the Presbyterian—have been restored, and now claim recognition, along with the Church life which they have helped to organize, in any future system of reunion. This said, the true moral of these essays seems to the present reviewer to be that, when read with fairness to all its changing stages, the Church's early history returns as its verdict *nil obstat*. One would like Canon Wilson's own judgement now on the whole matter.

VERNON BARTLET.

Suffering, Punishment, and Atonement, by ERNEST W. JOHNSON, M.A.,
Tutor of Cheshunt College, Cambridge. (Macmillan & Co.,
London, 1919.)

Reconciliation and Reality, by W. FEARON HALLIDAY, M.A. (Headley
Bros., London, 1919.)

BOTH these books are essays in constructive interpretation of experience, and incidentally are attempts at doctrinal reconstruction. They are both addressed to readers such as may possess little or no theo-

logical learning and be uninterested in the technicalities of a critical discussion of theories ; and both endeavour to supply a rational interpretation of atonement which shall do no violence to our moral sense. Mr Johnson carries his self-accommodation further, in that he does not set out from Scripture or from distinctively religious experience, but rather from common experience of God's world, with its main lines planned for the developement and training of man's spirit. He undertakes what he modestly calls a humble attempt to see what light is thrown by our common human experience and the relations of man to man, upon the relation of God to man which 'atonement' denotes. And in placing himself at the standpoint of such as may not accept the authority of the Bible or recognize the validity of religious experience, he makes a contribution to theological literature ; for if the conclusions to which he comes have been reached before, the processes of thought by which he arrives at them are fresh and independent.

There is an unostentatiousness and indeed a self-limitation in the display of the learning which Mr Johnson's sound elementary teaching presupposes, which make his book attractive, in spite of some of the earlier chapters being concerned only with familiar facts and simple ideas ; and in parts where no new contribution to knowledge is made, or even contemplated, and where the subject-matter will seem trite to his more learned readers, the writing is almost impressive for its common sense and right judgement, and is evidently the outcome of first-hand experience and reflection. Mr Johnson does not write for the learned, and keeps aloof from all aspects of his subject save those immediately relevant to his restricted aim ; but the reservation which he imposes on himself in order to gain those who have little confidence in theory and controversy will not be mistaken for deficiency of insight by readers possessing theological discretion.

Mr Halliday's book will be found useful as a supplementary or companion work by the class of readers contemplated by Mr Johnson. Mr Halliday writes rather for those who have been brought up within the Church, but who may feel difficulties about the doctrine of the Atonement as it has sometimes been presented. He is, therefore, to some extent, concerned with theories ; and he approaches the problem of Reconciliation by treating first of the doctrine of God, Providence, and other preliminary theological topics. The religious value of the doctrine that in Christ God reconciles the world to Himself is this writer's main interest and concern, and in his book the personal note rings.

Though Mr Johnson and Mr Halliday differ as to method of approach and exposition, their conceptions of atonement have much in common. Atonement is removal of the barrier of alienation produced by sin : a barrier not removeable otherwise than by change of heart in

the sinner. But repentance can only be effectively and widely motivated by the redemptive act of God mediated through Christ. Christ did not bear God's punishment; for punishment, with God, is the result of inevitable law rather than an improvisation as in the case of human punishments. And punishment is essentially non-transferable. Punishment, moreover, is not a condition of God's forgiveness to man: that idea is but a survival of the old principle of retribution or retaliation. The majesty of the moral law needs no such vindication; the only possible, and the sufficient, vindication of the moral law is the ethical condition of repentance. As between man and God, reparation is out of the question. Suffering and reparation are but means to amendment, and have no value save as proofs of repentance. God's punishments can only be regarded as serving an ethical purpose. As to whether atonement is effected by, or bound up with, the death of Christ, it seems that behind certain differences of emphasis and qualification, there is fundamental agreement between the two books. Death was a natural consequence of our Lord's humanity, and the Cross the inevitable end of One who lived for men, men being what then they were. The death of Christ could in no way render the divine forgiveness easier: it has merely served to promote change of heart. Indeed suffering and sin are incommensurable: suffering *cannot* cancel sin.

Thus these writers either state or imply that former theories of the Atonement erred through basing themselves on unethical assumptions, now outgrown. And both agree that the religious value of the doctrine is not impaired if the purely ethical view—which has been for some time familiar to scholars—be substituted.

F. R. TENNANT.

Sacred Latin Texts No. IV: The Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse from the Codex Laudianus, numbered Laud. Lat. 43 in the Bodleian Library, together with the Apocalypse Text of Beatus from the Tenth Century MS in the Morgan Library, New York, by E. S. BUCHANAN, with six collotype facsimiles. (Heath, Cranton, London, dated 1916, published 1919.)

THIS volume is more creditable to the editor's enthusiasm than it is to his judgement. To print a diplomatic copy, line for line, of a thirteenth-century Latin manuscript of a portion of the New Testament, while so many older ones have still to be examined, and to edit the Biblical text and quotations from one of the younger MSS of Beatus when over a score exist, a number of them older than this, seems at first a real waste of time. But if the work be regarded as a stopgap, it is welcome enough.

The best method to pursue in publishing the text of a cursive is surely to collate it with a standard printed text, just as Scrivener did in the case of a number of Greek cursives. If Mr Buchanan had printed a full collation of his MS with Wordsworth and White's smaller Vulgate, the reader would have been saved a lot of trouble, and the peculiarities of the manuscript would have been thrown into relief. Its text does as a matter of fact differ a good deal from the published Vulgate, and it appears to be most closely related to a manuscript in the Vallicellian Library at Rome,¹ Wordsworth and White's V, which is deemed to represent the Alcuinian recension. The collotypes shew that Mr Buchanan is not quite a master of thirteenth-century minuscule: there is one mistake in fol. 6 (*corperi* for *corpore*) and two in fol. 61 (*eas* for *nos*, and *et* for *est*). If we assume that this standard of accuracy is maintained throughout, there will be about two hundred and fifty errors in the editor's transcription. The introduction contains some curious remarks; what is meant by 'the survival of such ancient forms as the Genitive Sing. in *-es*, viz. *sedentes*, *stantes*' (p. ix n.), I do not know. Does he mean to suggest that this prehistoric form was known to mediaeval scribes? It is far more likely to be a mere corruption. The orthographical statistics on p. x and pp. 13 f shew that the editor has no real knowledge of the subject. Some forms are cited there rightly enough, as they are peculiar: others are really ancient: others might be found in any MS of that date, wheresoever written. The editor has not gone through the necessary discipline which would enable him to distinguish what is common and insignificant from what is rare and therefore significant.

The second part of this volume will probably excite greater interest. The value of Beatus's commentary on the Apocalypse, as a compilation from earlier sources, is sufficiently well known. But Mr Buchanan is the first, I think, to publish his text of the Apocalypse *in extenso* by itself, and thus to shew that it also is of importance. But he has gone hopelessly wrong with regard to the date of the MS which he has used. The MS is in the Morgan Library at New York; and Mr Buchanan, not being, as we have hinted, very much of an authority on Latin minuscule, has assumed that because a colophon in it refers to dates towards the close of the tenth century, the MS itself is therefore of that date. I do not doubt that any one with a right to an opinion on the subject, would assign the MS to the first half of the thirteenth century. Further, if Mr Buchanan, instead of thinking that he had 'all the books of reference that he needed' (p. 3), had consulted the late Léopold Delisle's *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* (Paris, 1880) pp. 124 f, he would

¹ This statement is made as the result of my own study of the critical apparatus in the *editio minor* of the Vulgate.

have found his thirteenth-century MS¹ described as having been of the Cistercian Abbey of Las Huelgas in Burgos, and as having been used by the sole editor of Beatus for his edition of 1770: further, he would have found, taken from Florez's edition,² the text of the very colophon which has misled him so much. The original of our MS was written in A.D. 968-970, and the latter appears to be also the date of the Beatus MS at Gerona.³ Mr Buchanan gives a list of sixteen Beatus MSS on p. 8, but five more are given by the chief authority on Beatus, Dom H. L. Ramsay of Downside, in his important article in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, t. vii (1902) pp. 446 f, as also by Delisle, and it is probable that the list is not yet absolutely complete.⁴ A classification of the manuscripts and a scientific edition are expected from Dom Ramsay. Such work is of course an indispensable preliminary to all final discussion of the sources of the commentary, as also of the Biblical text or texts used in it. There are at least four copies of Florez's edition in Britain, of which one is in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Mr Buchanan would find it difficult to prove 'that in the process of time the text of the early Fathers underwent a gradual revision and assimilation to the current doctrines and dogmas of the Church of Rome' (p. 18). It is time that sweeping calumny of this sort should vanish from all works pretending to be scientific. People who want to acquire sane notions on this subject will find them in a paper by Dr H. J. White on 'The Connection between the Vulgate Version of the Bible and the Theology of the Western Church' (*Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* vol. xlviii). The fact is that only the mature scholar can employ a work like this of Mr Buchanan's, because it is only the mature scholar who knows what deductions to make. The editor does not appear even to have heard of the Toledo *Liber Comicus* published by Dom Morin in 1893 (*Anecdota Maredsolana* vol. i), where he would have found a good deal of Spanish Apocalypse with which to compare Beatus's text.

The accuracy of this transcription also must be called in question. To judge from the collotype, there are something like eight errors in the

¹ Or more probably a sister and contemporary MS: my reasons for this view will appear, I hope, in a later article.

² Not having been able to see a copy of this edition, Mr Buchanan must be excused for giving its title incorrectly (p. 8); for *plurima utriusque foederis* read *plurimas utriusque foederis paginas*.

³ I conjecture that the xiii in the Gerona MS (Delisle, p. 124) is a mistake for viii.

⁴ See Dom Ramsay's interesting 'Appendix III' to *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts* (Nos. 51 to 100) in the *Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* . . . (Cambridge, printed at the University Press, 1902). Mr Thompson's MS, the oldest known copy of Beatus, was bought at the recent sale by Mr Quaritch for £1,000, and is now the property of J. Pierpont Morgan, Jun.

transcription of the first colophon.¹ The whole work has cost the editor great trouble, and is not without its value, but it is clearly only provisional, and it is not the production of one who is quite qualified for the task he has undertaken.

University of Chicago: Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Testament. First Series: Texts: Volume ii. Greek Gospel Texts in America, by EDGAR J. GOODSPEED. (University of Chicago Press: British agents, the Cambridge University Press.)

THIS volume deserves a most cordial welcome from all who take an interest in the textual criticism of the Gospels. The editor has a high reputation as an authority on papyri and on the New Testament generally. Within recent years America has acquired a fair number of Greek and Latin *codices*, and their new custodians have displayed admirable public spirit in putting their contents so freely at the disposal of scholars in other countries. In the present volume we are put in possession of all requisite information about the texts of six manuscripts of the Gospels in Greek. One is the now famous Freer (Washington) manuscript of the Gospels in sloping uncials of the fifth (?) century. We are here furnished with a complete collation of the MS, made with the text of Westcott and Hort. Those who want exact knowledge of the readings of this interesting codex will find this work as convenient as any for the purpose. Sanders of course has published a complete photograph of the MS and a companion volume as well, but this work is handier.

The other parts of the volume are concerned with the following MSS:—

The Newberry Gospels = Gregory 1289 = von Soden ε 1162 (saec. xii–xiii)

The Toronto Gospels = Gregory 2321 = von Soden ε 11005 (saec. xi–xii)

The Bixby Gospels = Gregory 703 = von Soden ? (saec. xi)

The Haskell Gospels = Gregory 1290 = von Soden ε 586 (saec. xv–xvi)

The Harvard Gospels = Gregory 666 = von Soden ε 1293 (saec. xii)
Each of these has been collated with the Lloyd reprint of Mill's edition. This is on the whole the best method to adopt with regard to Greek minuscules, because it is thus that their individual peculiarities are best brought into relief.

¹ I conjecture that the corrupt state of the colophon is due to the fact that the original colophon was written in cursive, not in minuscule, to distinguish it from the MS proper. The later copyists found the script hard to decipher.

It ought to be mentioned that each of the six parts of this volume can be obtained separately, and that each contains a beautiful collotype of one or two pages of the manuscript with which it is concerned. The whole volume is a solid contribution to the textual criticism of the Gospels, and its usefulness is enhanced by the beautifully clear types employed in the printing, as well as by the fine paper.

Harvard Theological Studies IV: The Gospel Manuscripts of the General Theological Seminary, by CHARLES CARROLL EDMUNDS, D.D., and WILLIAM HENRY PAINE HATCH, Ph.D., D.D. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; British agents, the Oxford University Press.)

THIS work forms an admirable companion to the Chicago volume just described. It is concerned with three manuscripts:—

The Hoffman MS = Gregory 2324 = von Soden ? (saec. x)

Codex 2346 = Gregory 2346 = von Soden A 16 (saec. x-xi)

The Benton MS = Gregory 669 = von Soden ε 1025 (saec. x)

Each of these minuscules is collated with Scrivener's reprint of the Stephanus of 1550. The publishers have been lavish with beautiful collotypes; there are represented three pages of the Hoffman MS, four of cod. 2346, and two of the Benton MS. This work, like the last, adds considerably to our exact knowledge of minuscule MSS, and we congratulate American scholarship on such help rendered to these textual studies. In contents and in beauty of execution the two volumes rival each other.

University of Chicago: Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Testament. Second Series, vol. ii part 3. *The Legal Terms Common to the Macedonian Inscriptions and the New Testament*, by WILLIAM DUNCAN FERGUSON. (University of Chicago Press: British agents, the Cambridge University Press.)

THE scope of this work will be realized from the title. The author selected the Macedonian inscriptions for his investigation, because St Paul and his circle were well acquainted with Macedonia, and at the same time the best collection of Macedonian Greek inscriptions is not readily accessible. In 1896 Dimitzas published at Athens all inscriptions having any reference to Macedonian affairs in a work entitled Η ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ. Dr Ferguson has wisely restricted his investigation to those which had their origin in Macedonia. The Corpus does not as yet include all of these.

The writer has studied the use in these inscriptions of the words βουλή, βουλευτής, γερονσία, δήμος, διαθήκη, δόγμα, δοκέω, ἐκκλησία, κληρο-

νόμος, κληρος, λειτουργέω, λειτουργία, νόμος, πολιάρχης, πραιτώριον, πρεσβεύω, πρεσβεία, πρεσβευτής, πρεσβύτερος, στρατηγός, ταμείον, with the view of furnishing light on their use in the New Testament. He also made an index to the vocabulary of the Macedonian inscriptions, which covers twenty-seven pages of three columns. The author's well-known competence in the Hellenistic period has enabled him to discuss those terms in a way that will prove most illuminative to the non-specialist, and if no sensational discoveries are to be expected, this work is a valuable contribution to the lexicography of New Testament Greek.

A. SOUTER.

Qualitative Nouns in the Pauline Epistles and their Translation in the Revised Version, by ARTHUR WAKEFIELD SLATEN, Ph.D. (University of Chicago Press, 1918:)

THIS volume belongs to the admirable series of 'Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Testament' issued periodically by the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature in the University of Chicago. The thesis is devoted to a careful examination of the 'qualitative forces in anarthrous nouns in the Pauline Epistles', an element which, according to Dr Slaten, has been almost entirely ignored in critical commentaries on the Greek text of the New Testament and in the standard grammars of New Testament Greek. Our author defines a 'qualitative noun' as an anarthrous noun whose function in the sentence is not primarily or solely to designate by assignment to a class, but to describe by the attribution of quality, i. e. the quality or qualities that are the marks of the class designated by the noun. He claims that the recognition of this qualitative usage of nouns is of extreme importance in the translation and interpretation of the New Testament, and that the Revised Version is in very many passages vitiated by the failure of the translators to realize the significance of this force in anarthrous nouns. There are in the Pauline Epistles (including the Pastorals) 8,841 nouns and noun equivalents, and of this number Dr Slaten maintains that 2,857 are used qualitatively. But only 2,445 are so translated by the revisers, leaving 412 instances where the true meaning has been obscured either by a failure to recognize the qualitative character of the noun in question, or by a failure adequately to express that character in English.

A list of nearly 900 words that are used with a qualitative sense by St Paul is given, and 15 of these, viz. νόμος, ἁμαρτία, πίστις, δικαιοσύνη, ἐλπίς, εὐαγγέλιον, θέλημα, ἅγιος, ἀδελφός, κλητός, ἀπόστολος, ἐπίσκοπος, σωτήρ, κύριος, and θεός, are dealt with in detail.

The author's method is well illustrated by his treatment of the characteristically Pauline term *vómos*. He finds that

1. The word is used 117 times in St Paul, 46 with and 71 without the article.

2. Of the 71 anarthrous instances 35 are found in prepositional phrases, in the great majority of which *vómos* tends to be qualitative.

3. Again, of the 71 anarthrous instances 61 are qualitative, i.e. the omission of the article has the effect not of assigning the law referred to to a class of laws, as if it were one out of many, but of emphasizing *its quality as law*. Cf. Rom. ii 23, which may be paraphrased 'You glory in a religion whose distinguishing feature is *legalism* (*ἐν νόμῳ*), yet through the transgression of *the law* (*τοῦ νόμου*) you dishonour God', and Gal. iv 21 'Tell me, ye that desire a *legalistic type of religion* (*ὑπὸ νόμον*), are ye not acquainted with *the Jewish law* (*τὸν νόμον*)?' The recognition of this qualitative force of *vómos* is not a mere grammatical punctilio, but a very necessary element in correct interpretation, and helps to enlarge the Apostle's religious philosophy from a mere anticondotal polemic to a wide-sweeping assertion of spiritual freedom. The revisers, in Dr Slaten's view, have generally ignored the distinction between the definite *ὁ νόμος* and the qualitative *vómos* as far as the latter is concerned, the result being that out of 71 instances of the anarthrous *vómos* 61 are palpable mistranslations, although in 11 of these the correct rendering is given in the margin. Our author, in his devotion to his thesis, probably reads a qualitative sense into words where it is not always quite so apparent to others as it is to himself, but he has undoubtedly placed his finger upon a palpable weakness in the revisers' translation. The compilation is, therefore, a valuable addition to New Testament lexicographical literature, and will prove extremely useful to those who are interested in the precise and accurate interpretation of New Testament terms.

MAURICE JONES.

De Chronologie van het leven van Paulus. Door DR D. PLOOIJ.
(N. V. Boekhandel en Drukkerij, voorheen E. J. Brill: Leiden,
1918.)

CAREFUL students of the life of St Paul and of the chronology of the New Testament will welcome this scholarly monograph by Dr Plooi, which surveys the work accomplished in this difficult field of investigation up to date with a thoroughness and lucidity leaving little to be desired. It will be of service to those who read English and German easily, even if they are unfamiliar with Dutch. The author has recently contributed two articles to the *Expositor* on the work of

St Luke. In this book he deals with the chronology of St Paul's life, as far as it rests upon *primary* evidence—i. e. excluding the last years of his life. His method is first to investigate the '*absolute*' chronology of St Paul's life—that is to say, to deal with all the allusions to contemporary history, whereby actual dates may be fixed with more or less probability and precision—next to discuss the '*relative*' chronology, that is, to establish the sequence of events as given in the New Testament, so as to fit them into the scheme of '*absolute*' chronology.

The chief difficulty in regard to '*absolute*' chronology hitherto has been, that although there have been several allusions, which might have been utilized, such as the references to Aretas, the death of Herod Agrippa I, and the proconsulate of Sergius Paulus, no one of them served to fix a date with sufficient precision. Harnack held that the succession of Festus in the province of Judaea as attested in the Eusebian Chronological Canon gave a reliable date, and he made this the crucial point of absolute chronology. But as Zahn has pointed out, and as Harnack himself recognized by rejecting Eusebius's date for the martyrdom of St Paul, such chronological tables in general and that of Eusebius in particular are not above suspicion, and need to be used with caution. Recently an inscription referring to Gallio's proconsulship has come to light, and this enables the sojourn of St Paul at Corinth to be dated with a precision hitherto unattainable. On another point, the date of the succession of Festus, Dr Plooij has reached a very important result, in arguing that Eusebius in his *Chronicon* here preserves an authentic ancient date, which corresponds exactly with the astronomical date of the Sunday at Troas.

In the matter of '*relative*' chronology everything turns upon the synchronisms that can be established between the narratives in Acts and in Galatians. Here Dr Plooij on the whole agrees with Ramsay, whom he supports as against Turner and Zahn in identifying the visit to Jerusalem of Gal. ii 1 with that of Acts xi, not that of Acts xv. The same view has been taken by Dr Knapp in his recent edition of Acts (Murby's Larger Scripture Manuals). The view of von Soden (*Encyclopaedia Biblica* i 813) that Acts xi and xv only refer to one visit to Jerusalem is only briefly discussed. Under subsidiary evidence for the South Galatian theory Dr Plooij makes an interesting point (p. 100) in quoting Ambrosiaster, whom, however, he does not cite in the recent edition of Professor Souter. He dates the Epistle to the Galatians shortly before the council of Jerusalem. On p. 109 foot-note *Zohn* is a misprint for *Zahn*. The discussion of the tense of ἐπορεύσα (Gal. ii 10) on p. 122 ff is not quite convincing. Is not Lightfoot's interpretation philologically possible, however exegetically unsound it may be?

C. T. HARLEY WALKER.

Wessel Gansfort: Life and Writings, by EDWARD WAITE MILLER, D.D.;
Principal Works, translated by JARED WATERBURY SCUDDER, M.A.
(G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1917.)

THESE two handsome and aptly illustrated volumes make their appearance under the aegis of the American Society of Church History, and it will be observed with interest that they owe their inception and completion not merely to the suggestion but to the generous patronage of a lady belonging to the American branch of the Gansfort family, for which the old Frisian town of Groningen—the place of Wessel's birth and burial—is still 'mother-city', Mrs Abraham Lansing (née Catherine Gansevoort) of Albany, New York.

Let me begin with a rapid glance at their contents.

In his first two chapters Professor Miller finds his theme in the immediate and remoter environment of the great Dutch scholar of the fifteenth century; from a general survey of the political, intellectual, and religious condition of the Netherlands he goes on to treat of the state of affairs in Europe generally, of the developement of the Universities, the rise of Humanism, the vicissitudes of the Papacy, the purposes and issues of Reforming Councils; notable personages are brought on the stage; now and again anticipatory reference is made to him who was *Lux Mundi* for admiring friends, *Magister Contradictionis* for those who deprecated what seemed to them his too great love of paradox. Biography proper then begins; four chapters are devoted to it, and in them Wessel's career is followed from youth through earlier and later manhood to the closing scenes. In the following chapter, headed 'His Personality', Dr Miller, seeking to 'ascertain what manner of man Wessel Gansfort was', portrays him as revealed not only by engravings (all, it is believed, derived from a single original painted from life) but by external events of his own planning, his writings and recorded sayings, the estimates of enemies and friends, everything which testifies to a power to transmit an influence through the lives of others. Next come disquisitions on 'Wessel as a Protestant' and his 'Relation to the Reformation Movement'; in the three remaining chapters Dr Miller expatiates on the contents, gist, and import of Wessel's literary remains, and so prepares the way for Professor Scudder who (vol. i p. 227) then grasps the pen. In a 'Translator's Preface' we have a detailed account of originals, and are informed of the prolonged and laborious processes which issued in the finished work as it comes from Professor Scudder's hands. The translations follow; they include the 'Letters', the 'Sacrament of the Eucharist', and the medley entitled *Farrago Rerum Theologicarum*. We have further, the biography by Hardenberg and the

brief sketch by Geldenhauer. There is a critical appendix and a general index, and so the book ends.

I proceed to set down some impressions left on me as I rise from the perusal of a work which has led me to consult the pages of Ullman, Friedrich, and Muurling, and to look up recent articles in (*int. al.*) the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* and *Religion in der Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

It is, I think, safe to congratulate Professor Scudder on his share in the book. His aim, he tells us, had been to 'render the Latin with literal exactness and to reproduce the style of the author without sacrificing the English idioms, hoping thereby to place the reader, to some degree, on an equality with those who have access to the originals'. Making no pretence whatever of any exhaustive comparison (and indeed I have only had before me the *Farrago*—in the edition printed 1522 at Basel by Adam Petri), I am nevertheless persuaded that he has achieved no small measure of success. Certain reservations made, I would express myself similarly in respect to the introductory matter which forms the contribution of Professor Miller. He appears to be at home in his period, and his description of its main features is decidedly good. No doubt Wessel Gansfort is in his eyes a hero, yet I do not find him unduly prone to hero-worship; speaking generally, he is, so it seems to me, sane in his conclusions, and if they be not always such as commend themselves to others they are not so put forward as to give reasonable offence. All the same I find some ground of complaint; as he himself admits, the 'reliable material' for Wessel's life is very meagre, and this being the case I am inclined to be captious when, by way of adding to the picturesqueness of his narrative, he fills in the 'bare outline' with large resort to 'data of less certain accuracy'; to instance one point only, is it quite so probable as he evidently would like to believe that, if the *Imitatio* be comparatively free from 'monastic superstitions', it was because of the alleged expostulation with its author of one who, the latter's pupil, was but a mere boy? It must be added that occasionally he goes near—if not all the way—to contradict himself. Again to instance a single point only; in one place we read: 'it is highly improbable that he (Wessel) came to eminence in the science of medicine'; elsewhere we find it said: 'Wessel's unusual skill in medicine is beyond question', 'that he had exceptional skill in the practice of medicine is beyond reasonable doubt'. Dr Miller should have given more time to the revision of his pages.

These things notwithstanding, he and Professor Scudder have produced a book of real interest and merit. It is to be commended to the ordinarily instructed reader as introducing him to a 'Christian Humanist', a man who, 'disposed to think his own thoughts and to go his own way', was (to quote his own words) 'always ready to be set right',

characterized by 'a breadth of religious sympathy', 'a remote archetype of the modern Christian scholar in whom evangelical fervour and critical acumen' are combined. For such was Wessel Gansfort, one of 'the two stars' of Groningen.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

Studies in Early Indian Thought. By DOROTHEA JANE STEPHEN, S.Th.
(Cambridge University Press, 1918).

THIS little book consists of five essays which contain in a convenient form the substance of lectures delivered by the author in India. The first four essays describe with admirable lucidity the main features of the three chief phases of early Indian religion as represented by the Rigveda, the Upanishads, and the Bhagavadgītā; and the last essay compares and contrasts these with the religious conceptions of other peoples of the ancient world.

As Miss Stephen points out (p. 7 ff), we find in the hymns of the Rigveda various explanations of the mystery of the universe and its relation to a First Cause. These are the different views of poets, priests, and philosophers. At a later period, in the Brāhmanas and the Upanishads, the priest and the philosopher divide the realm between them, producing, on the one hand, a religion of works, and, on the other, a religion of knowledge. How this last differs from the 'wisdom' of the Hebrew scriptures is very clearly shewn by Miss Stephen in a single sentence:—

'According to the one conception the ultimate reality is that unknown force which we are, yet of which we can say nothing, only we recognize it by thought; according to the other, he is a living person, not ourselves, but closely interested in us, who knows and weighs each action, word and thought, and whom we learn to know and recognize by means of loyalty' (p. 167).

The two divergent views are supplementary rather than contradictory. The Indian thinker sought to solve a problem—the nature of the First Cause—which the Hebrew gave up in despair: 'Canst thou by searching find out God?' The Hebrew was concerned chiefly with a practical question of morals—man's relation to a Higher Power. Each neglected the factor to which the other attached the greatest importance.

Miss Stephen's essays are written from the standpoint of the student of comparative religion. They may be recommended to the attention of all who are interested in the religious history of India past or present.

E. J. RAPSON.

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“A propaganda of some sort had been going on for years, but its active stage began in the spring of 1915. It was about that time that I arrived in Athens, with a view of doing my best to prevent the Labour feeling of the country being won over by the Kaiser. In this endeavour I was conscious of strengthening the hands of Venizelos, who then, in another field, was struggling against the growing German influence. The Kaiser’s scheme was to create a Greek Socialist Party imbued with Pacifist principles, and appearing to control the mass of the working classes of Greece, and impressing the world with the plea that there was in Greece a Labour conscience endorsing the aim of Germany and awaiting her victory as the best thing for the future greatness of Greece. Letters from influential Germans in Berlin have been written to me with a view of persuading me that if I loved my country it was my duty to open the eyes of the Greek proletariat to the advantages of taking a Germanophile attitude. It was these letters that opened my eyes to the Kaiser’s scheme, and I left London in order to counteract it in Athens.

About two months after the departure of Venizelos for Salonica I had a full hour’s argument with Constantine, trying to persuade him that he had to choose either to cover himself with glory and render the greatest service to Hellenism by embracing the Entente cause or lose ignominiously his throne within a few weeks. He lost it within a few months after plunging Greece into the greatest of her troubles.”

In defence of the Salonica Expedition he writes that but for it the whole of the Balkan Peninsula would have been in the hands of Germany long ago. In conclusion, Mr. Drakoules utters a grave warning, which deserves the widest publicity:—

“Germanization of all nations is what the Kaiser is pursuing, while the Entente is aiming at the freedom of the nations. Will it take a long time for the Eastern peoples to understand their vital interest? But if they are slow to understand it, will there be time for the Salonica Army to encounter Germany? I say there is time now, because Germany is still afar, but I speak in order to express the hope that those who are competent will bestir themselves while there is yet time.”

Mr. Drakoules, as Demosthenes two thousand years ago, is a Hellene who sees clearly; and in the Kaiser he sees another Philip of Macedon.’

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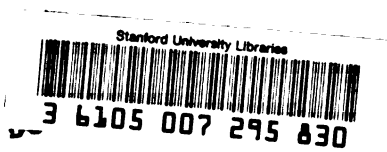
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